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MEXICO

ANCIENT AND MODERN

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BY

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PART IV.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

MOVEMENT OF OPINION IN MEXICO ON THE NEWS OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURBONS BY NAPOLEON I.—ARREST OF THE VICEROY BY THE SPANIARDS.

It has been seen by what precedes, that after the enfranchisement of the United States, and the commotion which the French Revolution produced in the world, there was, in the most enlightened part of Mexican society, an ill-defined aspiration for a liberal order of things, when, in 1808, the Mexican people heard news of events, the substance of which was that the royal authority, from which all power in the colony emanated, and to which all returned, had suddenly disappeared, almost like Romulus, in a hurricane. Instead of the Bourbons, it was

Napoleon who had all at once become master in Spain. The first movement of all classes who could manifest an opinion was an outburst of enthusiasm in favour of Ferdinand VII., who was little worthy of it, but who being visited by adversity himself when so young, was at that moment surrounded with a seductive halo.

The Spaniards, who took the lead everywhere, who decreed the law, and set the fashion, played their part by warmly manifesting profound devotedness to the person of that prince, and sincere attachment to the mother country. The Mexicans followed the example, partly from the spirit of imitation, partly from policy. All the *Ayuntamientos* (municipalities), claiming to speak in the name of the populations, sent to the Viceroy, who represented the crown of Spain in Mexico, addresses expressing the greatest zeal in favour of the scion of the royal race, whom the ruler of Europe held captive in a chateau in Berri. The Municipal Council of Mexico signalized itself by the ardour of its demonstrations. With this explosion of royalist sentiments were naturally mixed up from the first, among the Mexicans, the desire and the hope to be at last counted

for something. The royal power, from which all authority directly emanated in New Spain, was suddenly annihilated, for Ferdinand VII. abdicated like his father, and then, secluding himself in the shades of Valençai, gave no sign of life to his partisans. None of the juntas that were formed in the Peninsula had any document, not even a simple letter, presented by some faithful Blondel, which could authorize it to say that it was instituted by him. The inhabitants of New Spain, therefore, resumed possession of themselves, and were warranted in providing for their destinies by their own hands. In this conjuncture, the words "national sovereignty," which had been read in secret in the French books that had escaped the researches of the Inquisition, and which intelligent men had appropriated, never more to be deprived of them, came of themselves to the lips of the Mexicans. This idea once expressed, spread with the rapidity of lightning, and caused all hearts to beat; for nothing is more contagious than principles whose time is come. What more legitimate, in the grave circumstances into which events had cast the country, than to have a Mexican junta similar to the political

bodies which had arisen in Spain during the total eclipse of the National Government? In a word, the Mexicans almost immediately gave to the movement the direction that responded to their wants and their wishes.

The *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico took, in this respect, a resolute initiative. Its doing so was the consequence of the activity of public opinion, which is particularly manifested in capitals where the *élite* of a country is collected. Mexico was, of all New Spain, the place where the new opinions, with which Europe had been agitated from 1789, had made the most proselytes, though no one had dared to avow them. The opulence of a certain number of families who either worked the silver-mines of the Cordilleras, or occupied vast *haciendas*, in which sugar and cochineal were produced, and the wealth which a greater number of others had gained, had favoured these ideas, if only by giving to intelligent persons leisure to gain instruction, by inspiring them with the desire to possess it, and by procuring them the means of signalizing themselves by encouragement to the sciences and arts. There is an irresistible power which obliges all who rise above the common level,

even by wealth, thus to render homage to civilization. When the events of the Peninsula were well known, in July 1808, the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico resolved to make a solemn demonstration before the Viceroy. Its members went in grand costume, and in splendid carriages, to present an address, in which they declared that their attachment to the House of Bourbon was unbounded, and that they were ready to make the greatest sacrifices in its defence, but at the same time, speaking in the name of New Spain, they demanded the convocation of a national assembly, formed of the delegates of different provinces. This demonstration of the municipality of Mexico produced an immense sensation throughout the country. The Viceroy, Don Jose Iturrigaray, did not reject the proposition: he even received it favourably, and referred it to the *Audiencia* of Mexico for its opinion. The Audiencia was invested with great authority, and, in certain circumstances, with the right of control over the Viceroy. That great dignitary, was, in fact, bound to take its opinion in a great number of cases. It was the principal part of what was called the Real Acuerdo—a council which he had to consult in important affairs.

Unfortunately, it was not only composed exclusively of natives of Spain, but precautions were taken to make it personify the spirit of domination of the mother country in its greatest rigour. Among other things, its members were prohibited from marrying in Mexico, in order that their interests might not be different to those of the Peninsula.

The idea of a National Junta elected by the inhabitants, or the municipal councils, in which the Creoles formed the majority, wounded the prejudices and the pride of the resident Spaniards, who considered themselves masters of the country, without allowing any share to the descendants of the Spanish race born in Mexico. On the news that—in the extraordinary circumstances in which the country was placed—the Viceroy Iturrigaray would accept an arrangement that would give the Creoles political rights equal to those which they themselves enjoyed, the Spaniards were seized with indignation, as if that had been the overthrow of all laws, human and divine. They saw themselves, as it were, drowned in a mass fifteen or twenty times greater than their own, for they were 50,000 perhaps, or at most 70,000, and the

Creoles were fully 1,000,000. Would not the consequence of the elective and representative principle, if unfortunately it should be introduced, be, in a short time, the grant of political rights to *castes* heretofore considered ignoble, and even to the Indians, to whose ordinary language was refused the attribute of reason?* The Audiencia felt this repugnance more strongly than any class, and rudely combated the proposition of the Ayuntamiento of Mexico. The latter, however, was firm, and the Viceroy decided on complying with its wish. Thereupon, the Spanish party conceived a design which could not fail to weaken the respect with which the authorities appointed by the Peninsula had constantly been surrounded. Under the apparent direction of a Spaniard, a wealthy owner of sugar-mills in the environs of Cuernavaca, Don Gabriel Yermo, but more probably at the instigation of the Audiencia, among the members of which two magistrates, the *Oidores* Aguirre and Bataller, were, though eminent, remarked for their vehemence, the Spanish notabilities got up against the Viceroy a

Vide vol. i., page 317.

conspiracy, which succeeded, because Iturrigaray failed, at least on this occasion, in resolution and foresight. The number of conspirators was so great that he would have discovered the plot ten times over if he had taken the trouble to direct the discontented to be watched—and he had at his command a much greater number of troops than was necessary to intimidate them, especially with the assistance of the Ayuntamiento and the Creoles. One night, after having seduced the palace guard, the conspirators, three hundred in number, arrested him in his bed. They confined him and his two sons in the prisons of the Inquisition, and spread a report that he was accused of heresy, which however deceived no one. His wife and his other children were confined in a convent. In his place, as Viceroy, the Audiencia appointed an obscure soldier, who by rank and seniority was the first of the Spanish officers; but he had to be removed in a few months. They nominated as his successor the Archbishop of Mexico; but he had subsequently to cede the place to the Audiencia, who governed until the Spanish regency had sent a new Viceroy from the Peninsula.

As soon as the Viceroy Iturrigaray was deposed, several of the most influential Mexicans who belonged to the Ayuntamiento of Mexico, or had manifested the same opinions as that body, were placed in custody. Some were banished to the Philippine Islands, others imprisoned in the citadel of San Juan de Ulua at Vera Cruz, which was considered impregnable. A few others were sent into Spain to be tried. The Audiencia ordered the Spaniards to form Juntas of Public Safety, and to organize themselves into armed bands, who assumed the singularly-chosen appellation of "patriots." It flattered itself that it would thus repress the Mexicans, who were disposed to consider themselves as somebodies. The sole possible result of so much violence and presumption was attained: it was demonstrated to the Mexicans that between them and the Spaniards there was an abyss. The language held by the leaders of the Audiencia and the Spaniards was not of a nature to calm the discontent of the Mexicans: the *oidor* Bataller was accustomed to say that, so long as there remained in the Peninsula a cobbler of Castille, or a muleteer of La Mancha, the government of America would belong to him.

The Ayuntamiento, having made representations in favour of the ex-Viceroy, received the curt reply from the Audiencia that its powers consisted only in keeping in order the *leperos* (*lazzaroni*) of the capital.

CHAPTER II.

THE STANDARD OF INDEPENDENCE IS RAISED—HIDALGO'S CAMPAIGN.

FROM this moment a rupture was inevitable between the Mexicans, oppressed and insulted, and the natives of Spain who so audaciously assumed absolute sway. The independence of Mexico necessarily became the object of the conflict. Two parties were soon clearly defined—that of the Spaniards, for whom, as we have said, the name of *Gachupines* had previously been invented, and that of the independent Mexicans, commonly called Americans, and sometimes *Guadalupes*,* from a magnificent convent dedicated to the Virgin in the environs

* There was even formed at Mexico a secret society under the name of Guadalupes.

of Mexico. Our Lady of Guadalupe was considered the special protectress of the country. In several places in the provinces preparations for an armed conflict with the Spaniards were made, and it at last broke out in the intendency of Guanaxuato. There, in the small town of Dolorès, which was almost entirely peopled by Indians, as were most other secondary towns, was a parish priest of some knowledge, and of an energetic and enterprising character, who loved his country. He had been enlightened as to the merits of the Spanish Government by reading a few European books. He had expressed his sentiments, and a prosecution was commenced against him before the Inquisition. The activity of his mind and the ardour of his character were at that time employed in another direction: he had attempted to amend the condition of his parishioners by the intelligent practice of the useful arts. This priest, who was destined to acquire in the New World great celebrity — which however is, unfortunately, deeply stained with blood—was named Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. He had introduced into his parish the breeding of silkworms and the cultivation of the vine; but as in virtue of the protectionist system, which Spain, as

regards her colonies, practised more than any other nation, it was required that all the wine consumed in Mexico should come from the mother country, an order arrived from Mexico to pluck up the vines that ornamented the hills in the environs of the town of Dolorès, and it was obeyed.* This act of tyranny increased in the heart of Hidalgo the resentment he felt against the domination of Spain.

After the events of 1808 at Mexico, he made preparations for an insurrection against the Peninsula, and he did so with an energy surprising in a man of his age. The historian of Independence, M. Lucas Alaman, who saw much of him at his father's house in Guanaxuato, says that he was born in 1747; so that he was upwards of sixty in 1808. Hidalgo entered first of all into a conspiracy that was formed at Queretaro, a town situated at a considerable distance to the north of Mexico. The corregidor of the town himself, Don Miguel Dominguez,

* M. Alaman disputes this fact, and gives as a proof that he himself saw vines on the hills that surround the town of Dolorès. But the proof is not conclusive. It is very possible that as a favour to some privileged persons, part of the vines were preserved from the execution of the fatal decree.

and his wife, a woman of great firmness, were among the conspirators. In this way, Hidalgo was in intimate connexion with several young Creole officers of the militia regiments in garrison at Guanaxuato, and, among others, with three captains, Allende, Abasolo, and Aldama, who were destined to figure with *éclat* around him, Allende more particularly. The conspiracy was denounced to the authorities of Mexico, and several of the conspirators, and among them Dominguez, were arrested. This incident, which would have discouraged a feeble-minded man, produced no other effect on Hidalgo than to make him hasten the execution of his designs. On the 16th of September, 1810, just two years after the arrest of Iturrigaray, he raised the standard of Independence. The populations were so well prepared by the arrogant attitude of the Spaniards to respond to this signal, that the next day he was able to take possession of two towns, each of 16,000 souls. One of his first acts was to confiscate the property of the Spaniards, and to divide it amongst his troops. Some days after, he entered with a numerous but undisciplined and almost unarmed force, into the beautiful city of Guanaxuato, which contained not fewer than 75,000 souls, and was

noted for its wealth. It was the centre of a district renowned for its silver-mines. Near Guanaxuato is the famous vein, worked at that time with great success, at Valenciana and other places, of which M. von Humboldt said that it alone yielded the fourth of the silver produced by Mexico, and the sixth of the produce of America. In Guanaxuato there was always a large quantity of ingots of the precious metal.

The victory of Hidalgo was stained by an act of frightful barbarity. The intendant of the province, Riagno, an enlightened and benevolent man, sought refuge with the Spaniards and the richest Creoles in the Alhondiga, a vast building which served as a public granary. He received from Hidalgo a summons to submit; it was carried to him by Abasolo in the uniform of a colonel; but he refused, and proceeded to defend himself as valiantly as the means at his disposal permitted, though they were not considerable, as he was taken by surprise. The fire of his musketry, and of a sort of artillery which he invented,*

* These projectiles were the iron pots in which quicksilver—employed in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Guanaxuato in the extracting of silver—was carried. The besieged filled these pots with gunpowder and balls, and so made them a sort of howitzer shells.

made ravages among the assailants, the greater part of whom fought with slings, which obliged them to keep close to the besieged edifice; but Riagno was killed in a sortie at the beginning of the siege. His death caused disorder in the defence. Shortly after one of the doors of the building, against which the besiegers had piled up faggots, was set on fire and reduced to ashes, and the crowd of Indians were able to precipitate themselves into the Alhondiga. Exasperated by the discharges made on them when they attacked the edifice, they slew all they found therein, and hunted through the town, with the fury of wild beasts, all the Spaniards that remained, to satiate their vengeance in blood. It does not appear that Hidalgo attempted to check this massacre of unfortunate persons, against whom individually no reproach existed. Among the multitude of Indians who marched with Hidalgo, resentment for the sufferings which their race had endured during a long series of generations was suddenly awakened. The Aztec nation had previously been remarked for its sanguinary tastes; nowhere else does history record so many human sacrifices solemnly offered up on altars. Their natural instinct, overlaid perhaps, rather than uprooted by the practices of Chris-

tian worship, seemed to burst forth at Guanaxuato, roused by the passions of war. If Hidalgo had attempted to restrain the multitude, led away with indignation, and thirsting for blood, he would probably have failed; but his duty was to make the attempt with all his energy, which was great; it does not, however, appear that he did so. Subsequently, at Valladolid and Guadalaxara, he in cold blood ordered massacres of the Spanish population, and they were executed in the night time, far from the towns, in isolated valleys. No violence of the Indians could be alleged, I will not say as an excuse—in such a matter there is none—but as a blind fatality, resistance to which was materially impossible. We are warranted in supposing that, by one of those frightful political calculations which we find in the paroxysm of other revolutions, and, let us confess, of the French revolution itself, Hidalgo considered these assassinations *en masse* a means of success. He flattered himself that he would thus strike the Spaniards with terror, or force them to fly from the country; or he may have regarded their systematic extermination as necessary to the enfranchisement of the Mexican people; but even considered as a calculation, the sanguinary system practised

by Hidalgo was false, and turned against him. Indignation and horror were felt by the Creoles, especially as many of their class had been slain at the same time as the Spaniards in the sack of Guanaxuato. This was the commencement of a division among the parties which aspired to the establishment of Independence. A portion of the richest and most influential Creoles thenceforth made common cause with the Spaniards, and contributed with their swords to the disasters that some time after befell the cause of Independence.

After the building called the Alhondiga had been captured, all the wealth of the Spanish population of Guanaxuato which could be got at was confiscated for the benefit of the insurrection, but it was no assistance to the military chest of Hidalgo. Almost all the booty was pillaged. In the interior of the Alhondiga alone, the pillagers found in precious metals and jewels 640,000*l.*

The capture of such an important city demonstrated to everybody that the insurrection was powerful and formidable. After having seized Valladolid, another great town, the conquest of which immediately followed that of Guanaxuato, Hidalgo marched proudly on the capital, where

it was notorious, that the cause of Independence had many partisans. On the 28th of October, 1810, he was at Toluca, twelve leagues from Mexico. He gained at Las Cruces, after a very severe contest, a victory over the troops who defended the capital, and marched to within sight of the city; but he did not think it possible, with his undisciplined forces, to possess himself of it. Mexico was not like Guanaxuato and Valladolid, which had been surprised because there were no military forces to defend them. He saw that there was no reason to hope that a revolution effected by the inhabitants of Mexico would make him master of the capital, because the numerous troops collected there remained firm, and kept the population in check. He therefore determined to retire towards the interior. In his retreat he was defeated at Aculco, where the Creole regiments of the Spanish army displayed resolution in defence of their flag. From the plains of Aculco, Hidalgo, vanquished but not discouraged, retired towards the north, made a triumphal entrance into Guadalaxara, and there stained his name by fresh massacres. He afterwards fortified a position at the bridge of Calderon, with the cannon which his lieutenants had taken in the ports on the coasts of the

Pacific, particularly in the arsenal of San Blas, and he there awaited the army that fought for the mother country. Victory declared for the latter, which was commanded by Calleja, the same who gained the battle of Aculco. This time the defeat was a rout. The chiefs of the insurgents, with the remains of their army, proceeded by forced marches towards the frontier of the United States, to buy arms and to reorganize themselves; but on the road, on the 2nd of March, 1811, an officer of the army of Independence, Elisondo, betrayed them, and gave them up, in order to gain his own pardon. Hidalgo and his companions were shot shortly after, and what purported to be confessions, in which they blamed themselves for what they had done, and demanded pardon of God and men, were published. In all probability these documents were fabricated, for the Spanish authorities, not content with taking the lives of their adversaries, desired to rob from them even of their honour. The fact is, that Hidalgo died with the greatest calmness. On the eve of his death, in the midst of preparations for his execution, he composed two pieces of verse, thanking his gaolers for the attentions they had shown him. M. Alaman reproduces them.

A fact worthy of remark is, that Hidalgo, though separating from Spain, spoke in his official documents in terms which indicated that he remained faithful to the House of Bourbon. He represented himself as devoted to Ferdinand VII., had a portrait of that prince carried about with him, and put his initials on the caps of his soldiers. It is even said that he attempted to make the Indians believe that Ferdinand VII. followed the army in disguise.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPAIGN OF MORELOS—HIS SUCCESSES AND DISASTERS.

In spite of such great reverses, the cause of Independence was not lost. The defeated Independents divided themselves into bands, which were composed of the most resolute men, under chiefs full of courage and devotedness. Among other chiefs there was the priest Morelos, a friend of Hidalgo, who had joined him after the taking of Guanaxuato, and he undertook to operate in the province of which the principal town was the military port of Acapulco, on the Pacific Ocean.

It does not fall within the plan of this treatise to relate the incidents of the War of Independence in Mexico. It must suffice to say, that shortly after the defeat and capture of

Hidalgo, the insurrection broke out anew under the energetic direction of Morelos, and that it extended like a conflagration spreading under a violent wind to a great many provinces, where intrepid chiefs arose in almost every part, but nearly all recognising the authority of the clerical generalissimo. In the environs of Vera Cruz—the town could not be entered on account of the cannon of San Juan de Ulua—at Acapulco, Guadalaxara, and more to the south in the country that surrounds Oaxaca, the insurgents displayed a bold and intelligent activity which seemed destined to secure them success. At one time they were masters of more than half Mexico, at least of the peopled provinces. The Spaniards were in consternation, and Calleja called Morelos a second Mahomet, on account of his influence, of the enthusiasm with which the Mexicans placed themselves under his flag, and of the rapidity of his conquests. Thus passed the year 1812, and almost the whole of that of 1813. Unfortunately for the insurgents, they did not know how to make war; not that their armies were devoid of courage, but that they were ill-equipped, and but little drilled—or, to speak more correctly, were complete strangers to the modern system of

tactics, which gives troops who possess it a great advantage over those who do not. On the fields of battle, the qualities of the Spanish troops, though at that time very indifferent, were relatively excellent; and the conqueror of Hidalgo, the redoubtable Calleja, knew how to keep up and excite their courage, and to lead them well. The insurgents were frequently successful in conflict. One of the most remarkable of their successes was the battle of Palmar, where they overcame troops who had learned war, by measuring themselves against the French in the Peninsula: but in the end they sustained overwhelming defeats. They were forced to retire into Cuautla Amilpas, where Morelos had taken up a position and defended it with redoubts; but they sustained there a long siege, displayed in it heroic resistance, and evacuated the place in good order. Afterwards they were completely defeated before Valladolid, in the position of Santa Maria, where they only made an indifferent defence (25th of December, 1813), and the remains of their army were a few days after annihilated in the battle of Puruaran (5th of January, 1814). Their movements had been too much extended over different provinces. After Puruaran, their scattered corps were

almost all destroyed in detail. At the end of 1815 (the 5th of November), Morelos, vanquished for the last time, fell into the power of the Spaniards, when he was endeavouring, by a march across the mountains, to join Colonel Teran, who had collected forces at Tehuacan, in the province of Puebla. This fatal engagement, which left him in the hands of the enemy, took place at Temescala. At that juncture he had scarcely five hundred men.

The part of the struggle of which Morelos was the soul was marked by very varied incidents, by sanguinary battles, by acts of brilliant courage and heroism. It was, nevertheless, completely unnoticed in Europe, which, at a later period, contemplated with great solicitude the combats of the same kind which the Liberator Bolivar sustained against the Spaniards in South America. But how could the great nations of the Old Continent have remarked it? At that epoch—from 1812 to 1815—their attention was absorbed by the imposing drama in which their own destinies were at stake. How could the combats of Palmar, Valladolid, and Puruaran, be regarded in Europe, when our continent was shaken by the appalling battles of Smolensk, Moscow, Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden,

Leipsick, Vittoria, Paris? — was stirred with emotion, or suffered agony at the sight of such events as the prodigious campaign of France in 1814, the return from Elba, the cataclysm of Waterloo? The dissensions in Mexico, and the incidents of the war that desolated her, were assuredly worthy of interest: but what were they compared to the tragical spectacle of exhausted France, trampled under foot by a coalition, and threatened with dismemberment? The end of Hidalgo and Morelos was terrible: but what was it compared to the fate of the great man, who, after being raised to the pinnacle of fortune, was precipitated from the most splendid throne in the world, and confined to a rock in the midst of the seas, by the anger and the fear of kings who formerly competed for his favour?

In this civil war of Mexico, men of noble character, and even great men, were produced. Under the Spanish flag, the principal personage was General Calleja, who was afterwards Viceroy; next to him, the most remarkable was Iturbide, a Creole officer of extreme bravery, of no ordinary intelligence, and of indefatigable activity, who in concert with a Spaniard, General Llano, gained over Morelos the decisive victories of

Valladolid and Puruaran. Among the insurgents, a multitude of names could be cited independently of those of Hidalgo and of his principal lieutenant, Allende. And, first of all, there is the priest Morelos, who was the centre and the chief of the insurrection during four years—a man of superior intelligence, courageous on the field of battle, and of great capacity in council, who rejected the sanguinary traditions of his predecessor and friend Hidalgo, for whom, however, he professed veneration. Morelos made great efforts to induce the Spaniards to be less implacable to the prisoners, but he could not succeed—implacability was an essential part of their policy. There exist proclamations and orders of the day of the Viceroy Venegas, of Calleja, and of one of his subordinate, General Cruz, that make the hair stand on end.* The atrocities committed by Hidalgo had exasperated them. And yet it must be confessed that terror

* M. Lucas Alaman quotes the text of a sanguinary proclamation of the Viceroy Venegas, dated 25th June, 1812, and of some of Calleja's after he became Viceroy. A system of extermination was ordered, and the execution of it was left to the discretion of all the chiefs of detachments. An order of the day of General Cruz was still more revolting—it directed that the insurgents should be pursued, incarcerated, and killed like wild beasts (*bestias feroces*).

and cruelty were favourably regarded as an instrument by the old Spanish policy, and that Spaniards employed them spontaneously without being excited by any sentiment of reprisals. When the Spanish Government had to combat an insurrection, it was in torrents of blood that it proposed to extinguish it; and it employed that plan more readily in Mexico than in Europe. Happy were the populations when torture and executions were only employed for suppression; oftentimes they were exercised as a preventive measure! People were shot, not for the part they had taken in the conflict, but for that which they might be tempted to take. The Spanish general Morillo, antagonist of the illustrious Bolivar, has boasted in an official document that he did not leave in the Government of Caracas a single man against whom Spain could take umbrage. Need we be astonished, then, at the antipathy which Spain excites in that part of America that was formerly subject to her, and at the antipathy felt for her soldiers, who so often acted as common executioners?

The priest Matamoros, lieutenant of Hidalgo and Morelos, is a personage worthy of admira-

tion. Morelos and Matamoros were captured by the Spaniards, and shot—the former after a solemn trial at Mexico, the second more than a year previously, after having performed prodigies of valour on the fatal field of Puruaran. Morelos, in order to save the life of that lieutenant, whom he loved, and to whom he had given the first rank after himself, offered to Calleja to give in exchange for him a considerable number of Spanish soldiers, whom it might have been thought the Viceroy would have been glad to save—the last remnants of the battalion of the Asturias, who fought at Baylen, and possessed great renown. The Independents had made them prisoners at Palmar. But the inflexible Calleja preferred sacrificing these brave men to sparing Matamoros. And yet what the Spaniards did on the field of battle of Puruaran ought to have assuaged their fury: they celebrated their victory by shooting eighteen colonels or lieutenant-colonels. And as if that were not enough bloodshed, Calleja responded to the proposition of Morelos by shooting his prisoner. Morelos replied by an order to execute the unfortunate soldiers of the battalion of the Asturias; they were more than

two hundred in number.* Such was this war!

But let us continue the enumeration of the principal personages of the Army of Independence. Miguel Bravo perished by the hand of the executioner at Puebla. Several other chiefs fell on the field of battle: one was Galiana, member of a family who were devoted to the cause of Independence. Morelos, when he heard of his death, which followed close on the capture of Matamoros, cried: "I have lost both my hands!" Another was Albino Garcia, who made successful *coups de main* against the Spaniards, but finally fell: he has become a legendary personage in his province. Others, in considerable numbers, had the happiness to live long enough to see the standard of Independence floating over the whole country. Among the latter, History will register with honour the name of Guadalupe Victoria,† whose

* The execution was, however, delayed, and only part of the 200 were shot.

† His real name, according to M. Lucas Alaman, was Felix Fernandez. He changed it during the war, and adopted one suitable to the occasion—Guadalupe signifying independent, and Victoria announcing the victory he hoped for. His companion, who afterwards became celebrated—

adventures from 1815 to 1820, when Spain had regained the upper hand, resemble a romance. The same was the case with Bustamente, who escaped from all the hazards of war, though he exposed himself more than any one else; and, like Victoria, he was raised by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens to the presidency of the Republic when Independence was once recognised. Another was the intrepid Guerrero, who never put down his arms, and remained to the end at the head of a corps; he was destined to be immolated by the blind hatred of parties, after having for a brief space exercised the supreme magistracy. Another was General Nicholas Bravo, whose name deserves to be transmitted to posterity, less even for the victories he gained, and for his valiant resistance when adversity befell the Independents, than for an act of generosity of which there were too few examples in that fierce and pitiless struggle. His father, Don Leonardo Bravo, was in the hands of the Viceroy Calleja, who was about to have him tried, which meant condemned to death and executed. Morelos authorized Don Nicholas

the insurgent Teran—to whom he communicated his design, told him that it would be still more significant to call himself *Americo Triunfo*.

to dispose of three hundred Spanish prisoners whom he had in his hands to obtain the liberty of his father. Nicholas Bravo offered them in exchange to the Viceroy; but the latter, systematically cruel to the insurgents, had Don Leonardo executed. On hearing of this, Nicholas Bravo ordered his three hundred prisoners to be shot, and had them placed "in chapel," in order that they might be executed the next morning; but during the night the idea of such butchery oppressed him. He felt that if his order were to be executed, the cause of Independence—the glory of which was so dear to him*—would be dishonoured; and at sunrise he set them at liberty, saying that they must not remain a day longer in his hands, lest he should feel the desire to avenge on them the death of his unfortunate father. We have also to mention General Rayon, who served with distinction under Hidalgo, and resisted to the end, taking refuge, when he was too closely pressed, in an entrenched camp he had established in the Cerro de Gallo. General Teran, whose services date from the same epoch, and

* It was he himself who recounted this anecdote in a letter to M. Lucas Alaman, published in the history of the latter.

were brilliant to the close, cannot be omitted without injustice. We might add twenty other names to this list, all, in different degrees, worthy to be transmitted to posterity.

A personage for whom great sympathy was felt was *young* Mina—so named not only on account of his age, but to distinguish him from his uncle, the famous Espoz y Mina, so well known for his intrepidity and his experience in guerilla warfare. When Ferdinand VII. had violated all his promises to Spain by substituting absolute government for the Constitution established by the Cortes, young Mina, full of enthusiasm for liberal ideas, in concert with his uncle, organized an insurrection at Pampeluna, which, however, failed. Obliged to go into exile, he conceived the bold design of attacking the authority of that ungrateful and perjured prince by conquering to the constitutional system the most beautiful gem of his crown beyond the seas—Mexico. Renewing the bold expedition of Fernando Cortez, he disembarked the 15th April, 1817, at a little northern port, with a handful of adventurers of all nations, and obtained at first marvellous success; but his communications with the sea being cut off, and having obtained little support from the Inde-

pendent chiefs, whom he had joined after passing through two hundred leagues of country occupied by the Spaniards, he soon had no other resource than in the excess of temerity; and he made a desperate effort, at the head of a small force, to seize Guanaxuato by surprise. Unfortunately, there only remained to him fifty of the intrepid companions who disembarked with him. Repulsed in this attack, he was obliged to fly, followed by only three or four men, and was captured in a *rancho* (a small rural habitation), which he had entered for repose, on the 27th October. He was shot a few days after. Orrantia, the Spanish officer who had the good luck to capture him, had the baseness to strike him with the flat of his sword, and to put him in irons. Young Mina was only twenty-eight years of age when he was executed.

CHAPTER IV.

CONGRESS OF INDEPENDENT MEXICANS.

A REVOLUTION, produced by the causes we have pointed out, had necessarily for its object the casting off the yoke of a selfish and oppressive mother country. Independence was the fixed idea of the insurgents; hatred of the domination of the *Gachupines* was the passion which inflamed their hearts and strengthened their hands. As to the form of government to be established, when once independence should be obtained—that was a question which remained in the shade or in the second rank. The major part of the insurgents did not think of abandoning the monarchical system to which they were accustomed; but they had not the means of organizing a new one. And yet it was necessary to have a Government in which

the civil element should have at least a part, and which, instead of following the army like a portion of the baggage, should have a fixed residence in a town. The military chiefs themselves saw this. Accordingly, in 1811, a government junta (*junta de gobierno*) was installed in the town of Zitacuaro, province of Valladolid, by General Rayon, who commanded one of the principal bands after Hidalgo's disaster. It was composed at first of three, and afterwards of five members, who were virtually self-elected; but it was understood that it was, as soon as possible, to give place to an assembly chosen, as far as practicable, by the country. General Rayon placed himself at the head of the junta.

The conduct of this phantom of a Government was as moderate as it could be. The junta declared the ties which bound Mexico to the Peninsula broken; but it offered the Mexican throne to Ferdinand VII. on condition that he would reside in the country. Thus it was a monarchy which the junta desired. The junta even expressed the wish to maintain friendly relations with the Peninsula, and it proposed to the Viceroy to enter into negotiations on the basis of independence. The only reply returned

by the Viceroy, who at that time was Venegas, and who was the first sent out by the Regency of Cadiz, was to have the despatch of the junta burned by the common executioner in the great square of Mexico.

The establishment of an insurrectional government, which published decrees and proclamations, and affected to exercise all the attributes of political authority, excited in the highest degree the indignation of the Spaniards; and in order to stifle the monster in the cradle, the scourge of the Independents, General Calleja, was sent against Zitacuaro. He took the town by force, after, however, a resistance less severe than was to have been expected, from the preparations which had been made, and from the works which had been thrown up around the place. He caused to be shot several of the principal inhabitants who had not had the prudence to take to flight with the junta. He ordered all the residents, without exception, to quit the town immediately, and he allowed them to remove all the furniture and effects they could carry off, but he declared all the rest, together with the land, confiscated. The ecclesiastics were dragged to Valladolid, to be placed at the disposal of the Bishop, and to

the latter all the sacred vessels and church ornaments were delivered. The Indians of the neighbourhood had their lives spared only on condition of destroying the fortifications erected by the insurgents around Zitacuaro. The town was condemned to be burned down after the departure of the army, and the sentence was executed; moreover, it was ordered that it should not be rebuilt. The proclamation which contained these decisions also set forth that every town or village which should receive the members of the junta, or any one of its agents, or which should resist the royal troops, should receive the same chastisement. Such of the Indian villages in the neighbourhood as had displayed zeal in the cause of the insurrection were given up to the flames. Zitacuaro, which was treated like another Carthage, was one of the most flourishing towns of the intendency of Valladolid. It has never risen from its ruins.

These cruel acts did not put an end to the junta; though it gave no other signs of life than intestine discord up to the moment at which it was replaced by an assembly of the same kind, but more numerous, and in the formation of which election played a larger

part. This new body took — in imitation, probably, of the United States—the name of Congress, and held its sittings in the town of Chilpancingo. The Congress named Morelos generalissimo, notwithstanding the pretensions of Rayon, and conferred on him the title of Highness; which, however, he declined, replacing it by that of Servant of the Nation (*Siervo de la Nacion*). The first political manifestation of the Congress was a declaration of the independence of Mexico—an act which was drawn up in concert with Morelos, and of which the principal bases were taken from a note by him, entitled "Sentiments of the Nation." The Declaration of Independence was what was to be expected after the acts of violence committed by Calleja at Zitacuaro. Mexico broke off absolutely with Ferdinand VII. In making her do that, Morelos acted with greater frankness than Hidalgo, who detested the Spaniards too cordially really to desire the government of that prince, and who, no doubt, only proclaimed his name in order to increase the number of his partisans and the ranks of his army. The Declaration gave incomplete explanations as to the form which the government would assume when Mexico should be once enfranchised. The

terms of that document, combined with a note of Morelos, and with a proclamation which he published somewhat later, in January, 1813, at Oaxaca, appeared to indicate that the political opinions of that chief were an amalgamation of the ideas proclaimed by the French Revolution, and afterwards by the Cortes of Cadiz, with those on which the Jesuits had acted in the missions of Paraguay. In these three documents may be perceived the germs of a theocracy which would have oppressed all. They stated that the Mexican nation resumed its sovereignty, and exercised it by its representatives; that the slavery of the Blacks was abolished; that the privileges of birth or colour disappeared; and that torture should no longer be employed in criminal justice. But at the same time, the Catholic religion was declared the only one which was recognised, and which could be practised even in secret. Liberty of the press was instituted, but only for science and politics; which meant, to the exclusion of religious matters. Foreign commerce was allowed on payment of moderate duties; but foreigners were not admitted except they were workmen, or artisans capable of teaching their trades; and they were obliged to reside in certain

specified ports, and were prohibited from penetrating to the interior, even though they should belong to the *most friendly nation.* Property was respected, and the Congress was to pass laws obliging men to be consistent and patriotic, moderating opulence, relieving poverty, increasing the wages of the poor, promoting morality, dissipating ignorance, and keeping off vice and crime. Games of chance were forbidden except for amusement, and the manufacture and use of cards were prohibited. Debts due to Europeans —that is, to Spaniards—were annulled, in consequence of the application of a decree declaring all the property of Spaniards confiscated. Protection or assistance given to Spaniards by act, word, or writing, was treated as high treason; and so likewise was the refusal to contribute to the expenses of the war of Independence. To these political stipulations were added prescriptions difficult to reduce to practice—such as to shun the vices which are produced by idleness, and, in consequence, to work each one in his calling — the women in domestic occupations, priests in saving souls, labourers in tilling fields, workmen with their tools. One of the first acts of the Congress was to re-establish the Order of the Jesuits, which had been abolished in the

dominions of Spain since the time of Charles III. This was done, it was said, in order to secure to youth the benefit of Christian instruction, and to have zealous missionaries for California and the northern provinces.

Morelos was made prisoner at Temescala, as he was escorting the Congress, which was pursued by Spanish commanders. In order the more effectively to protect that assembly, he placed himself in the rear guard, where he bravely resisted the Spaniards. The Spanish officer into whose hands he fell, Don Manuel Concha, showed him great respect; and as to Morelos, personally he displayed courageous resignation. "My life is nothing," he said, "if the Congress be saved. My task was finished from the moment an Independent Government was established." The Congress was, in fact, saved by Nicholas Bravo, to whose protection Morelos confided it, and it arrived at Tehuacan, where Teran at first treated it well. But, in the midst of common adversity, harmony was only of brief duration. Discord soon broke out between that military chief and the Civil Government, which wanted to take the direction of affairs, that had become very difficult. On the 15th December, Teran dispersed the Congress by force. Morelos, in his dungeon at Mexico, had

the affliction to learn that this institution, to which he attached great importance, would not survive him. The Congress had never possessed real authority, but it was nevertheless a useful instrument of government; it proved a rallying-point, and constituted the unity of the insurrection. The destruction of it was a misfortune, and an aggravating symptom in the ill-luck of the Independents.

It is a fact worthy of remark, that the Congress did not lose courage in adversity. After the misfortunes which overwhelmed the principal army of the insurgents, from the end of 1813, it was almost always fugitive. Two Spanish corps, one commanded by Brigadier Negrete, the other by Captain Don Miguel Beisteguy, were in pursuit of it. It nevertheless continued its labours, and terminated the discussion of a political Constitution. This Constitution, which was destined to remain on paper was proclaimed in October 1814. On that occasion, fêtes as pompous as was possible were given in the little town of Apatzingan, where the Congress was then sitting. A medal was struck to commemorate the event. Morelos was present at the fêtes, as one of the three members of the Executive Government which drew up the

Constitution. This measure was a compilation of the principles proclaimed by the French Constituent Assembly in 1789, and of the enactments made by the Spanish Cortes in 1812. The only incident worthy of being mentioned in history, to which the Constitution of Apatzingan gave rise, was the outburst of indignation it produced among the Spanish authorities. The Viceroy Calleja referred the Constitution to the Royal Council (*Real Acuerdo*), which condemned it solemnly on the 14th May, 1815. In virtue of that condemnation, the Viceroy had a copy of it burned by the executioner in the great square of Mexico, and ordered that the ceremony should be repeated in all the chief towns of the provinces. At the same time, he published a proclamation declaring that all possessors of copies of the Constitution, or of papers of the same kind, must deliver them to the authorities within three days, under pain of death and confiscation of their property. The same penalties were to be applied to all persons who should defend or support the revolution, or even "speak favourably of it." Whoever, having heard such a conversation, should abstain from denouncing it to the Government or the Tribunals, was to be transported, and have his property confiscated. It

was forbidden to use, either in speaking or writing, the terms *insurrection* and *insurgents* to designate the revolution and its partisans; the words to be used were *rebellion* or *treason*, and *rebels* or *traitors*. All localities were bound to declare by solemn acts that they had not taken any part in the nomination of members of the Congress.

CHAPTER V.

VANQUISHED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE, THE REVOLUTION TAKES THE GREATER HOLD ON THE PUBLIC MIND—IT IS DEFINITIVELY ACCOMPLISHED BY ITURBIDE—THE PLAN OF IGUALA.

Even before the capture of Morelos, after the battle of Valladolid and the conflict of Puruaran, the cause of the Independents was lost militarily. To give battle again was not within their power. All they could do was to maintain guerillas, and they were obliged to hide themselves in impenetrable places, after making unexpected excursions. Calleja, at that time Viceroy, published on the 22nd of June, 1814, after all his own successes and those of his lieutenants, a proclamation, in which he exalted his army, and in the most contemptuous terms described the insurrection as extirpated; but that able soldier,

who could see the reality of things, knew well, even when he spoke so pompously of his victories, and of the pretended annihilation of the insurgents, that the cause of Independence was not the less certain to triumph, because it was gained in the hearts of the Mexicans. The proof of this is presented in an official document, which was destined to remain secret, but which subsequent events caused to be published. It is a report from Calleja to the Government of Ferdinand VII.—a report almost simultaneous with his haughty and confident proclamation, for it is of the 14th of August 1814. This document sets forth that the spirit of *rebellion* had taken possession of the country, and manifested itself everywhere and always in such a way as not to be seized, and to defy all means of repression. It was not merely, he affirmed, a guerillero, secreted behind a rock or among the cactuses; but it was a universal complicity, in which people of all classes and all ages participated. "The judge," continued Calleja, cloaks the crimes of the insurgents, or refrains from punishing them, when he does not himself take part in them. The clergy in the confessional insinuate disobedience and independence to the faithful, when they do not recommend

them openly in the pulpit. Writers corrupt public opinion in its favour. The women seduce the soldiers; the functionary warns the rebels of the plans of his superiors; the young men keep themselves ready to rise and arm; the old man intervenes by his counsels. The corporations affect to be on bad terms with the Europeans, refuse to admit them as members, and avoid giving any assistance to the Government. The acts of the authorities are misrepresented, in order that they may be held in detestation, and are discredited by remonstrances for which a pretext can always be found. And thus everybody is in accord to undermine the edifice of the State, whilst sheltering themselves under liberal institutions."

The latter words of Calleja are an allusion to the Constitution of the Cortes which, proclaimed in 1812 in the Peninsula, was introduced into the colonies by the express decree of the Cortes themselves. The Constitution conferred electoral rights on the White population, or that which was supposed to be. This gave the partisans of independence the means of ascertaining their precise strength. They laid down in principle that the Spaniards (a term which signifies the natives of Spain), should be systematically

set aside. At the outset there were 652 elections to make for ayuntamientos and various other functions. Of the persons elected not one was a Spaniard. The Audiencia, from one of whose *representations* I borrow this fact, adds, that the choice fell on men known for their attachment to independence, who had made themselves notorious by opposing loans and voluntary subscriptions for the assistance of the mother country, or who had even signed the demand for a Mexican junta in 1808; or, lastly, on priests who had gained celebrity by proclaiming their sympathy for independence.

The constitutional system had not only the effect of concentrating in the hands of the Mexicans all the offices that had to be filled up by elections, but it gave great facilities to the friends of independence by raising obstacles to summary executions and preventive arrests. It particularly aided them by allowing the liberty of the press, which was manifested by a deluge of publications. In these works all the abuses of Spanish domination were unveiled, were amplified, and were exaggerated by imaginary grievances. When the Viceroy, in accord with the Audiencia, took on himself to suspend liberty of the press, it was too late; the eruption of the

volcano had only lasted sixty-six days, but it left traces which could not be effaced. The domination of Spain was sentenced. One of not the least results of the constitutional system was the abolition of the Inquisition—the terror of persons who allowed themselves to think with a certain degree of liberty on religious or political questions.

Shortly after the return of Ferdinand VII. to Spain, the Constitution was abolished in Mexico, as in all the rest of the monarchy. The Viceroy was again armed with all the resources of absolute government, including the Inquisition, which was promptly re-established. Spain, relieved from war, sent troops which were sufficiently numerous to occupy strongly the principal towns, and to pursue and disperse the bands of insurgents, and at last a general amnesty was proclaimed. Almost all the Independents profited by it, without, however, in their hearts renouncing what had become the passion of their life. A superficial observer might have thought that the country was pacified, and that the restoration of the authority of the mother country was definitively accomplished. The viceroy by whom Ferdinand VII. replaced Calleja, in September 1816, Don Juan

Ruiz de Apodaca, was moderate and kind. It was he who received the submission of a great many chiefs. In the joy which these measures caused him, he wrote to Madrid—at least Mr. Ward says so—that the revolution was definitively vanquished.* It was certain, on the contrary, that on the first favourable opportunity there would be a new outbreak of the spirit of independence, and that it would be irresistible from the concert of all parties. But when peoples entertain a firm resolution, Providence undertakes to supply them with the necessary opportunity for action, and it is for them to seize it.

In 1820, the absolute government of King Ferdinand VII., thinking itself master in the Peninsula, cast its eyes abroad, and resolved to make a great effort to re-establish its authority in that part of the New World which appeared most likely to escape from it. In consequence,

* He had, however, some personal reasons for knowing that there still existed Mexican guerillas of great audacity. After his disembarkation, as he was proceeding from Vera Cruz to Mexico, escorted by the somewhat numerous troops he had brought with him from Havannah, he was attacked at Ojo de Agua, between Perote and Puebla; and if the commander of the insurgents, Teran, had made better arrangements, he might have been captured.

it organized a formidable expedition destined for the provinces watered by the Plata. The expeditionary army assembled in the Isle of Leon, in Spain, and it was about to leave under the orders of Calleja, who then bore the title of Count de Calderon, in honour of one of his most brilliant victories over the Mexicans. That concentration of troops in the Isle of Leon was destined to produce great events, very different from the conquest for which it was destined. The principal officers, imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, which had already led to the establishment of the Cortes of 1812, supported with indignation the degrading despotism to which Ferdinand VII. had reduced their country. Some courageous men resolved to renew once more the attempt which had cost the lives of such brave men as Porlier, Lacy, Richard, Vidal, and Bertrand de Lis. A conspiracy was formed for the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, and on the 1st of January 1820, Colonel Riego, who commanded the battalion of the Asturias, which was in garrison near Seville, proclaimed the Constitution, and marched on head-quarters. He was seconded by Colonel Quiroga, who, having been imprisoned for participation in a preceding plot,

had escaped from gaol, and had induced several battalions to follow him. Shortly after, the Constitution was re-established in Spain, and consequently in the colonies also—at least virtually, for it was imperatively applicable to the possessions beyond the seas. This news excited great emotion in all Mexico. The Viceroy Apodaca displayed reluctance in bringing the Constitution into practice. He had, however, to submit in appearance, but it is stated that he conceived the design of re-establishing the absolute authority of Ferdinand VII. in Mexico, by opposing a military insurrection to that which had succeeded in the Isle of Leon. Under pretext of destroying the remnants of the Independent corps which still held out in the mountains of the south, on the side of the Pacific, under the orders of the invincible Guerrero and of Asentio, he assembled troops and placed at their head an officer on whom he thought he could rely.

He was encouraged in these projects by Ferdinand VII., who secretly wrote to him that he was disposed to fly from Spain and to take up his residence in Mexico, where he flattered himself on finding, among subjects more devoted than those of the Peninsula, an asylum

against revolution.* Colonel Don Augustine Iturbide, chosen by the Viceroy for this reactionary enterprise, was the Creole of whom we have already spoken, who had given numerous proofs of his devotedness to the mother country, in the course of the war against Hidalgo and Morelos. Not only his great military exploits, such as those of Valladolid and Puruaran, but also his acts of revolting cruelty were spoken of. In 1814, in order to celebrate Good Friday becomingly, after a combat at Salvatierra, in which he had the advantage, he shot three hundred prisoners on the pretext that they were excommunicated, for the Spanish authorities in Mexico employed spiritual arms as well as swords, muskets, and cannon, in subjecting the Independents. Mr. Ward, who, in his quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of England, was in a position to be well informed, says that the despatch addressed to the Viceroy by Iturbide, announcing to him this act of sanguinary

* M. Lucas Alaman gives this letter in his History. The Apodaca family, however, deny that it reached the Viceroy, and even that the latter intended to organize a counter revolution. M. Alaman publishes this rectification in an additional chapter, and I think it a duty to mention it here.

bigotry, existed in his time in the archives of Mexico. In 1820, Iturbide, as well as the other Creoles who had ranged themselves under the flag of Spain, were greatly shaken in their opinions. In the first years of the struggle for independence, a sentiment of conservatism had attached a great many Creole proprietors to the cause of the mother country, notwithstanding their legitimate grievances. M. Von Humboldt, who studied Spanish America as a philosopher as well as a naturalist, wrote in 1803: "Since 1789 the fear which the great number of Blacks* and of Indians causes to the Whites, and to all free men, checks the discontent." The massacres tolerated by Hidalgo, or ordered by him, at Guanaxuato and other places, had augmented these apprehensions of the Whites, and cooled their zeal for emancipation; but in 1820 the love of national independence had at last surmounted every other sentiment. Iturbide followed the torrent of public opinion with the intention of guiding it. One may suppose that from that time he foresaw the chance of turning the movement to his personal advantage. He

* This observation of M. Von Humboldt applies to all Spanish America, and not specially to Mexico. The number of Blacks was very limited in the latter country.

received the confidential communications of the Viceroy (I assume that the latter really made some), as a zealous servant, in such a manner as to make him entertain complete security, and he then placed himself at the head of the troops which were confided to him. Once at his post, counting on his popularity among the Mexican soldiers who were ranged under the flag of Spain, he did not hesitate to undertake a revolution diametrically opposed to that which the Viceroy desired. The Spanish forces in Mexico consisted of eleven regiments, composed of soldiers from the Peninsula; those of the natives of twenty-four regiments. If by a specious programme he could succeed in placing the latter on his side, he was master of the situation, for, when once he should have raised the Mexican standard, would not the soldiers of independence hasten to join the ranks of his army? Would not public opinion, silenced by the fear inspired by the Spaniards, then give him that moral support which is the invincible auxiliary and the unanswerable justification of material force? Having established himself in the town of Iguala with the part of his troops of which he was most certain, he there, on the 24th

February 1821, proclaimed the Independence of Mexico, in a programme which has remained celebrated under the name of the *Plan de Iguala*. This document is remarkable for its moderation and conciliatory tone. It said that Mexico should be an independent State, that the form of government should be monarchical, under the denomination of Empire, which the glory of Napoleon had accredited everywhere, and with a constitution suitable to the habits of the people. The throne of Mexico was offered to Ferdinand VII., as had previously been desired by the junta of Zitacuaro, the ideas of which, it seems, Iturbide adopted in several respects. In the event of Ferdinand VII. refusing, the same offer was to be made to two Infantes of Spain, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula, his brothers, and next to the Archduke Charles of Austria, who had once or twice in his life the rare honour of disputing victory with the Emperor of the French. In default of these princes, a member of some one of the reigning Houses of Europe was to be chosen. Iturbide had fought too long in the ranks of the Spaniards not to be inclined to act courteously towards them; to do so was, besides, in accord-

ance with the system of general conciliation which he wisely adopted. In consequence, the "Plan de Iguala" completely assimilated the natives of Spain to the other inhabitants of Mexico. It promised them that they should keep the offices they held, which was doing a great deal, for it would have left the country for some time in the hands of the Spaniards, to the exclusion of Mexicans; since, in virtue of the system which had been invariably practised, except during the brief period in which the Constitution was in force, all offices had been reserved to the natives of the Peninsula, and the refilling of them by new men, if left to the sole operation of natural causes, would have been very slow.

The proclamation which preceded the plan merited the best reception, on account of its excellent spirit; and it produced a good effect in all the country. Guerrero, with an abnegation which few Mexican generals have since displayed, and which he himself unfortunately did not imitate afterwards, immediately offered his co-operation to Iturbide, and at once placed himself under his orders with his bands, who presented the singular union of a martial aspect with the most apparent indications of privation

and distress.* Iturbide received support from various places. The natives of the Peninsula, however, persisted in their system. They could not reconcile themselves to the idea of treating the Mexicans otherwise than as a conquered people. Their chief force was at Mexico, where, surrounded by a chosen garrison, the principal authorities resided, and where the formidable Audiencia, which set the example of unchangeable attachment to the old rules of the Government, held its sittings. Their implacable attitude, by the terror which it inspired, restrained the enthusiasm of the population; but it was only for a time. They repeated the fault of 1808: they deposed the Viceroy Apodaca, as they had done Iturrigaray, without, however, incarcerating him; and they installed in his place an artillery officer, General Novella, who could not devise anything better than to fasten himself up in the capital with Spanish troops. In the meantime, Iturbide received support from all quarters; towns and provinces declared for the Plan of Iguala. The native regiments pronounced in favour of it.

* Many of his men had contracted hideous maladies by constantly bivouacking in forests in the hot regions, which are infested with dangerous insects.

Those soldiers of the War of Independence who remained took arms and joined the liberating army. Nicholas Bravo reappeared on the scene. Shortly after, Guadalupe Victoria presented himself. He was supposed to be dead; and an official bulletin had even declared that his corpse had been found in the forest in which he had sought refuge, sooner than accept the amnesty which had been offered him. In this state of things the new Viceroy, whom the constitutional government of Madrid had sent to replace Apodaca, arrived at Vera Cruz. He was General O'Donuju, one of the friends of Riego and Quiroga, the heroes of the Isle of Leon. He had with him no troops—he was alone. Iturbide took a bold and intelligent step: he proposed an interview at Cordova, a town situated at a short distance from Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico. O'Donuju went to the place; and there, on the 27th September, was signed by the two chiefs a treaty, which reproduced the terms of the Plan of Iguala, with the exception of some secondary modifications, or what seemed such. Thus, for example, a third Infante of Spain, Don Carlos Luiz, heir to the Grand Duchy of Lucca, was substituted for the Archduke Charles of Austria; and the quality

of member of a reigning House ceased to be indispensable in the personage whom the Cortes of the Mexican empire might raise to the throne, in the event of Ferdinand VII. and the three Infantes of Spain not accepting. In order to see the faithful execution of the treaty on the part of the Mexicans, O'Donuju was to be one of the members of the Provisional Junta charged to carry on the government. He was acting in that quality when death overtook him.

From that moment the Independence of Mexico was really established.

PART V.

GOVERNMENT OF INDEPENDENT MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

THE EPHEMERAL EMPIRE OF ITURBIDE.

By accepting the compromise of Cordova, O'Donuju acted judiciously, like an enlightened politician, and a real and well-inspired patriot. To have asked more for Spain would have been chimerical; and yet when the commissioners sent from Mexico arrived at Madrid, they were very ill received. King Ferdinand VII. was not much disposed to accept a throne for which he must have renounced for ever that of the Castilles, and which would have been based on what, in his eyes, was a very disagreeable thing —a Constitution. Moreover, the Spaniards, though they had little affection for that prince, would not have allowed him to leave, having no one better, or having only worse, to put in his place. The Infante Don Carlos, who was for

a moment seduced by the prospect of reigning over Mexico, was held back by the hope of succeeding to the throne of Spain, the king, his brother, having at that time no children. The Infante Don Francisco de Paula alone approved fully of the programme drawn up at Cordova; and it is stated that he had at one moment the idea of embarking on board a merchant ship, and sailing at all risks. But before all, and above all, it was for the Cortes to pronounce. In the Cortes, the treaty of Cordova was blamed, was rejected with disdain, was declared null and of no effect; and notwithstanding the penury that prevailed, the resolution was adopted to send reinforcements to the Spanish corps that still occupied positions of resistance in America. One of these positions in Mexico was the fort of San Juan de Ulua, which was firmly held by a Spanish garrison, and held in check the principal centre of the commerce of Mexico with Europe—Vera Cruz. M. Lucas Alaman, who since has played an important part in Mexico, as one of the chiefs of the Conservative party, was then a deputy to the Cortes in his quality of Mexican. He knew intimately, both as witness and actor, all that took place in that Assembly; and he has given the details in his voluminous

History. He justly remarks, that the conduct adopted by the Cortes and the Cabinet might have been understood if the Peninsula had had the forces necessary for suppressing the sentiments of independence that reigned in the hearts of the inhabitants of an almost entire continent, and of Mexico in particular. But, in reality, did they possess such forces? Were they not, on the contrary, reduced to the last dregs of helplessness?

The consequence to Mexico was what was easy to foresee. Iturbide enjoyed immense popularity from one end of the country to the other, and in the intoxication which the acclamations of the crowd always produce, he was tempted to use and abuse the great powers with which he had been invested, and with the exercise of which he was but little familiar. It followed that he was soon at discord with the Congress, which had assembled in order to organize the country on the Plan of Iguala. Influenced by the Anglo-Americans, who had organized in the country Masonic lodges called *Yorkinos*,* the members of which were in favour of democracy, in opposition to those of the Scotch

* From the name of the town of New York.

rite, or *Escoceses*, which were of monarchical tendencies, and influenced besides by the prosperity which the republican system had procured to the United States—that assembly was less and less favourable to the monarchical system, for which the most necessary personage, the monarch, was wanting. In consequence of the conflict which existed between the Congress and himself, and under the influence of the animated discussions that had taken place among the people as to the respective advantages of monarchy and a republic, Iturbide, from being the champion of the monarchical system, became by degrees a candidate for the Crown. The text of the Convention of Cordova permitted him to entertain that high ambition, and a numerous party excited him thereto. According to the testimony of M. Lucas Alaman, the higher clergy, dreading the principles that dominated in the Congress, were favourable to him. Menaces to kill him, and the discovery of a conspiracy to assassinate him, had a similar result to that which was produced in France by the Infernal Machine, and the plots of Georges, Moreau, and Pichegru. The zeal of his partisans was increased, and he was at last called on to declare himself.

On the evening of the 18th of May 1822, soldiers, headed by a non-commissioned officer, paraded the town, crying, "Long live Augustine I.!" The multitude raised acclamations. The next day the Congress was invaded, and had to deliberate amidst the impatience of an excited crowd, which filled the galleries. Iturbide, summoned to take part in the deliberation, attended, and did not leave for a moment. Some deputies endeavoured to cause delay by proposing to decree that powers should be demanded from the provinces, but this was done in vain. Eventually, by 71 votes to 15, the imperial crown was awarded to Iturbide. The empire was established. A splendid ceremony for the coronation of the Emperor and Empress, and in which was copied, as closely as circumstances permitted, the coronation of Napoleon I. and the Empress Josephine, in 1804, charmed the population of the capital, who thirsted for sights. A numerous court was established, and etiquette displayed there all its exigencies and all its pomp. I met in Mexico, in 1835, a French upholsterer, who proposed to Iturbide, when he became Emperor, to make for him a bed on the model of that of the great Napoleon at the Tuileries. The offer was gladly accepted,

and a fabulous sum was given for the bed. Childish parodies! As if by borrowing an upholsterer a man could make himself the equal of a hero! After only a few months had passed away, the new throne trembled on its foundations. Most of the generals were discontented at having to obey a chief whose services were not more brilliant than theirs, who had fought against them, the soldiers of Independence, he himself being in the ranks of Spaniards, and who had been pitiless towards the vanquished insurgents. There was another grievance against the improvised Emperor. In the war, in which property was not more respected than persons, spoliation had been the order of the day. Iturbide had not only covered himself with the blood of prisoners, his fellow-citizens, but had committed excesses of that kind. The province of Guanaxuato had been in particular the theatre of his rapine. He was denounced to the Viceroy by respectable persons during a sort of suspension of hostilities which followed the annihilation of the army of Morelos and the execution of that chief, and public clamour was such that the Viceroy was obliged to order a judicial investigation; but that Viceroy was Calleja, who thought highly of Iturbide's

bravery, and who considered as venial sins all sorts of summary acts against the insurgents, provided the insurrection were repressed. At the inspiration of the Viceroy, the judicial investigation, which besides had been confided to a magistrate who entertained great animosity to the insurgents—the Oïdor Bataller (spoken of before)—ended by the declaration that there was no ground for indictment; but the conscience of honest people did not ratify that acquittal. Thus the Imperial Government of Iturbide excited great repugnance and even violent hatred, without speaking of individual jealousies, which, however, of all the difficulties it had to encounter were not the least dangerous.

From the month of September 1822, the antagonism between Iturbide and the Congress was patent. In November, General Santa Anna, who had received unexampled favours from Iturbide,* raised the standard of revolt at Vera Cruz. Guadalupe Victoria almost immediately supported his enterprise. At the beginning of January, Guerrero and Bravo joined the in-

* In a few months he was promoted from the grade of captain to that of brigadier—that is, general officer.

surgents, and in the latter part of March 1823 he no longer had an empire. In the month of May, an English frigate conveyed towards Europe the fallen Emperor and his family. The Congress, recognising the services which, dating from 1820, he had rendered the nation as the champion of Independence, assigned to him a pension of 125,000 frs. (5000*l.*), on condition of his not returning to the country.

It was in this way that the monarchical cause succumbed in Mexico. That cause, nevertheless, continued to possess numerous partisans. But very few persons retained the hope or desire of seeing a prince of the royal family of Spain ascend the throne; indeed, the nation soon became unanimously hostile to that project. It was irritated at the refusal of Ferdinand VII. and the Cortes to grant a prince of the royal family, to recognise Mexico as independent, negotiating with her on the basis of insuring Spanish commerce more favourable treatment than that of any other nation. To this vexation was added, in 1829, the irritation caused by a fresh attempt to reconquer Mexico by force of arms. A small Spanish army, commanded by General Barradas, disembarked at Tampico; it, however, imme-

diately sustained a humiliating defeat at the hands of Generals Teran and Santa Anna. The hatred to the Spaniards, already great, was now much envenomed, and it still remains the strongest political sentiment prevalent in the country. The exile *en masse* of all persons born in the Peninsula, was voted by the Congress in a moment of passion. This was a fatal measure—not only for the general reason that violence is rarely profitable, but also because in this case Mexico lost a population which was better instructed and more industrious than the rest, and with it a large amount of capital.

Rejected by Spain, and in consequence feeling extreme repugnance to her, the monarchical party among the Mexicans flattered themselves with the idea that a country so vast, so beautiful, so richly endowed with all sorts of wealth, and so remarkably well situated, would tempt some scion of one of the sovereign houses of Europe; but at the time of the fall of Iturbide, Legitimist opinions, brought into fashion and erected into a system by M. de Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna, exercised absolute sway in the councils of Catholic monarchies, the only ones to whom the Mexicans

could apply. At Paris, at Vienna, and at Munich, the proposition to send a prince of the reigning family to Mexico as Emperor would have been rejected as a robbery and a usurpation. The monarchical sentiment of the Mexicans, though thus humiliated and ridiculed by the kings of Europe, nevertheless continued strong, and it sought an object for its worship. For this reason the young son of Iturbide, Prince Felix, born during the ephemeral reign of his father, and who had sought refuge at Philadelphia after the catastrophe in which the ex-Emperor perished,* had faithful partisans as long as he lived.

* Iturbide, who, after his fall, had taken up his residence in England, conceived the unfortunate idea of regaining the crown. He arrived almost alone on the 14th July 1824, at Soto la Marina. He was taken prisoner by General Garza, and was shot by order of the authorities of the State of Tamaulipas, in conformity with an Act of Congress outlawing him.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC—GENERAL SANTA ANNA.

UNDER the name of Republic, Mexico has been kept in deplorable anarchy, with all that forms the sad accompaniment thereof—absence of security for property and person, the engagements of the State violated, industry languishing or annihilated, the highways infested by brigands, the self-reliance of the nation weakened, its knowledge obscured, its rare establishments of public instruction disorganized, hideous corruption in the Government offices and in the administration of justice. The number of men who in turn have occupied the presidency, and have overthrown one another, is almost indefinite, especially within the last six years. Doubt and despair consume the souls of good citizens.

In the midst of this confusion, there is one personage who towers above the rest—General Santa Anna. M. Lucas Alaman has written a page about him which it is well to reproduce: "When once Iturbide was overthrown," he says, "the History of Mexico may be called the History of the Revolutions of General Santa Anna. At one time he organized them for his own interest, at another took part in them when commenced by others. He laboured one day for the aggrandizement of his friends, the day after for his own. He raised up a faction, and then cast it down and oppressed it, and supported the opposite faction. He thus kept up a sort of see-saw between different parties. He was the promoter of political events, and the fate of the country was bound up with his, amidst all the alternatives which at times placed him in possession of the most absolute power, and at others precipitated him into captivity or exile. Nevertheless, in the midst of the perpetual agitation in which he kept the Republic —amidst the contradictions into which he fell, and which were so striking that he adopted without hesitation, when his interest required, opinions contrary to those which he conscientiously entertained—and amidst the immense

evils he brought on the country in order to attain supreme power, which he used as the means to amass wealth—he, in 1829, on the attempt of the Spaniards to re-establish their power, and on their disembarkation at Tampico, attacked them without waiting for the orders of the Government, and forced them to lay down their arms. In 1835 he braved in Texas the insurgent American colonists, and carried the Mexican standard to the frontiers of the United States. He was even on the point of restoring to Mexico her authority over that part of the national territory, and only succumbed from one of the chances of war, which placed him in the hands of an enemy already vanquished, and who only possessed a strip of land in the provinces it was desired to usurp. When the French seized the fort of San Juan de Ulua, and penetrated into the town of Vera Cruz, in 1838, Santa Anna resisted them, and lost a limb in the action. Finally, in the most unjust war history mentions—a war, the cause of which was the ambition, not of an absolute monarch, but of a republic which pretends to be at the head of the civilization of the nineteenth century—when the army of the United States had invaded the northern provinces,

Santa Anna combated them with honour at Angostura. With incredible celerity he removed to the defiles of the State of Vera Cruz the army with which he had been carrying on the war in that of Cohahuila. Defeated at that point, he raised a new army to defend the capital. His plan, however, was as badly executed as it was well conceived; but he deserved the eulogium which the Roman Senate on a similar occasion accorded to the first plebeian who obtained the Consular *fasces*—that he did not despair of the salvation of the Republic. The foreign invaders considered him and General Paredes as the only obstacle to a peace that was destined to wrest from Mexico half her territory, and employed great efforts to capture his person. A mixture of good and bad qualities, we find in him great natural talent, without literary or moral culture—an enterprising mind, but without fixedness of design—energy and talent for government, with, however, enormous faults. Though as able in drawing up the general plan of a campaign as of a revolution, he was unfortunate in the conduct of a battle: he gained only one. He formed pupils and collected numerous lieutenants when he wanted to overwhelm the country with evil; but he could not

find any when he had to resist French cannon at Vera Cruz, and American cavalry at Mexico."

Up to 1833, the policy of Santa Anna was to contribute more than any one to making and unmaking Presidents, without aspiring himself to the supreme magistracy. In that year, however, he assumed the dignity. He occupied it, but only by intervals, down to 1856. He was several times forced to retire from it: once in 1836, when he was taken prisoner by the North Americans, after the battle of San Jacinto, in Texas; the second time in January, 1845; the third in September, 1847, after the invasion of the country by the United States; and lastly, in August, 1856. When he returned to power in 1853, it appeared to be for a permanency, universal suffrage having conferred on him the dictatorship for life, with the title of Serene Highness; but the organic defect of the country was so deep that, after three years, his dictatorship, which might have been considered the sole refuge of a nation reduced to extremity and thirsting for repose, fell to pieces. Since that moment it may be said that Mexico has been totally without a Government; scarcely has she remained a society.

On retiring from the dictatorship, Santa Anna

carried with him the conviction that the institutions of the country required a radical change in a monarchical spirit; and we are assured that, in his exile—which, by the way, is voluntary—he has not ceased to express that opinion. This conversion of Santa Anna to monarchical ideas might be considered as the result of his government having been overthrown, were there not one circumstance, the correctness of which is attested by what appear to us unquestionable proofs. So far back as 1853, when he held the dictatorship, Santa Anna, seeing that the republican system was impracticable in his country, took steps for obtaining from some one of the reigning houses of Europe a prince who would consent to go to Mexico to wear the crown, and from the principal Cabinets their acquiescence, and their moral support, at least, to such an arrangement:

Some time before this, the desire for a monarchy was manifested with a certain *éclat*, in spite of the intolerance of opposing parties. One of the most distinguished citizens of Mexico, M. Gutierrez de Estrada, who had occupied high political positions in his own country, having been successively Minister and Senator, and afterwards Mexican Minister in England, brought out in

1840, at Mexico, a very bold pamphlet, which produced a great sensation.* The author was prosecuted, and obliged to go into exile; but his publication afforded the partisans of monarchy the opportunity of ascertaining their number, and it gave them heart. Some years after, in January 1845, the monarchical party attained power under the presidency of one of its members, General Herrera, and afterwards under a more energetic and enlightened chief, General Paredes. The latter published a manifesto, which left no doubt as to his intentions. Whilst admitting that a Constituent Assembly had the right to fix the form of government suitable to the country, he clearly indicated that monarchy alone could rescue it from disorder and save it from ruin. But to found a monarchy, a monarch was necessary. In the absence of a prince who should offer himself frankly, and be accepted by the nation, any successes obtained by the monarchical party could only be considered as essays.

The form of the political constitution which was adopted after the overthrow of Iturbide

* "Letter to the President of the Republic on the Necessity of assembling a Convention, to seek a Remedy for the Evils which afflict the Republic."

was Federalist. It was then thought right to take as a model the United States, in which the Federal system had, so to speak, risen spontaneously from the situation of things. Isolated one from the other before Independence, having not only their separate Governments but their peculiar charters, and long accustomed to administer their own affairs—the thirteen colonies of England on the American continent, when they separated from the mother country, continued the same mode of existence, establishing the relations which were strictly necessary between them by means of a Congress, similar to the conferences in which independent powers are represented by ambassadors. At a later period, in 1787, they modified this system by substituting two deliberative assemblies for that body, but retaining for it the name of Congress, and by establishing what had previously been wanting—a President possessed of effective powers. Nevertheless, the principle of the individual sovereignty of the States has since been religiously maintained. Such a plan never had any root in Mexico. The different provinces of New Spain never governed themselves, and power was entirely centralized, condensed, absorbed in the hands of the represen-

tatives of the Spanish monarchy at Mexico, with the exception of what that monarchy had reserved to itself at Madrid. The Federal system was abolished under the first presidency of General Santa Anna, in 1835, and replaced by the system of unity. But the movement of parties, and the excesses of local passions and personal ambitions, caused it to reappear in 1846. It fell anew, in consequence of the public misfortunes, in 1853. It was revived in 1856, after the retirement of Santa Anna. Since then, the country has been in a state of chaos. In it a nation, a state, a society have to be reconstituted from the basis to the summit.

Let me be allowed here to transcribe the notes which I made in the port of Vera Cruz, when I visited the country, fourteen years after Independence was established. They give a faint idea of what Mexico now is.—"This port, which was so animated in the times of the Spaniards, is now only a solitude. Five or six vessels—French, English, or American—weary of waiting for the piastres which do not come from Mexico, are about to go to Campechy to seek cargoes of dye-woods. In addition to these vessels are a few schooners, which are employed in the coasting trade, and a few fishing-boats. And such

is the manner in which commerce is represented in the port of Vera Cruz. The *Robert Wilson* is rotting in a corner; the Mexican Customs-officers, vigilant for once in their lives, justly confiscated her for having brought in boxes of debased copper coin (*quartile*), on which 400 per cent. could be gained—a profit which the Mexican Government reserves to itself. The three-decked ship of the line, the *Asia*, which her Spanish captain gave up to the insurgents in the War of Independence, is now three-fourths submerged—the netting, half demolished, is now only to be seen. She forms a reef the more in the midst of the breakers by which the port is surrounded. The frigate *Le Guerrero*, transformed into a hulk for galley slaves, is stationed between the wreck of the *Asia* and the fort of San Juan de Ulua, which last is built on a small isle, and serves as a citadel to the town. It is quite an event to see on the tower of the fort the signals that indicate the approach of a vessel. As soon as the bell which is rung on such occasions is heard, everybody hastens to enjoy the rare sight. The population has disappeared from the town, almost in the degree that vessels have from the port. Vera Cruz, under the colonial system, had

16,000 inhabitants, without counting the garrison and people who were but visitors; there are now not more than 4000 or 5000. The aspect of the town is lugubrious and desolate. The famous citadel of San Juan de Ulua, which Spain built at great expense, in the shallow part of the port, and which has braved the violent tempests that come from the north-west, cannot resist the negligence of the independent Mexicans, and falls into ruin day after day. From time to time, a few soldiers, badly clothed and badly armed, appear in the embrasures, and their appearance attests that the military state of the country is decaying like the rest. The mole, which from the shore advances into the port to facilitate the disembarkation of travellers and merchandise, is no longer kept in repair; every winter, the sea in fury washes away fragments of the masonry, which are not replaced. The belfries of the town are damaged by cannon-ball and shell. The yellow fever is the only thing which has not declined at Vera Cruz."

Let Mexico be compared with another State in America, which, occupied by a powerful White race similar to that which rules in ancient Anahuac, decided on having the monarchical form of government, and which, more fortunate,

was able to satisfy its wish. Brazil, half a century ago, was less peopled than Mexico. She was more backward in the useful arts. She is not more privileged as regards climate; she is even less so, for she does not present the advantageous configuration of the Mexican territory, and of which we have pointed out the principal effects in a subsequent part of this work.* In mineral resources, Brazil presents nothing which can be placed in comparison with the veins of silver from which the Mexican miner has obtained so many millions, and which are but a small part of what will one day be extracted. Brazil had at the beginning of the century, and she preserves still, in the institution of slavery and the multitude of her Blacks, things which delay progress. But, at present, Brazil is more peopled than Mexico; she is much more prosperous; she counts for much more in the areopagus of nations. She is cited as one of the States which advance, whilst Mexico is only mentioned as one of those on which inexorable Destiny appears to have placed the hand. The Mexicans have now such complete proof that the political institutions which

* See Part VI.

they adopted—not being able to take others—are powerless to promote the happiness and prosperity of their country, that the moment appears to have arrived at which they will themselves voluntarily accept monarchy, if they can be satisfied of the capacity and character of the prince who may present himself to their suffrages.

The balance-sheet of the Republic in Mexico can be completely presented in a simple fact, more eloquently than by all the details that could be given of the evils which overwhelm that unfortunate country. When Independence was established, the territory of the Republic comprised, according to a table drawn up by M. Lucas Alaman, 216,012 square leagues:* at present it has only 106,067. The loss is 109,945 square leagues—more than half. The Americans of the North have appropriated them, and it must be confessed that they turn them to account for the general interest of civilization

* The league here referred to is that of Mexico, of 5000 vares, or 4179 metres (the metre is rather more than 3 ft. 3¼ in.). The square league makes 1747 hectares (the hectare is 2½ acres); so that there remain in Mexico 185,000,000 hectares, or about three times and a half the superficies of France, the latter being, Corsica included, 54,300,000 hectares.

infinitely better than the Mexicans could have done. But the loss is a warning of the fate which awaits all the rest, unless an entire re-organization of the country be effected.

In September 1846, Mexico endured the cruel humiliation of seeing a foreign army, which came for conquest, encamped in her capital, and of having the starred flag of the United States floating triumphantly from the palace of her government. This flag will return to wave there again, and permanently too, if Mexico does not regenerate herself by political arrangements entirely different from those to which she has been subjected for the last forty years.

PART VI.

THE RESOURCES AND FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER I.

THE CLIMATE OF MEXICO, AND THE PRODUCE THAT SUITS IT.

Mexico is, at the present day, among civilized nations, what is termed a cypher. Save only for the produce of its silver-mines, which furnish the silversmith with a raw material he would otherwise have to pay very dear for, it is a nation useless to the rest of the world. The reason for so complete an effacement is to be found in circumstances that are but transitory. It is in the nature of things that Mexico should play a part on the world's stage; it would suffice that its inhabitants should determine so to do, and that they should be organized in such a way as to put to their use the gifts that Providence has lavished on them. This is what I propose to establish by a rapid examination of the ad-

vantages conferred on it. I shall therefore call attention to its climate, by naming the principal products adapted to it, and to its mineral wealth and geographical situation.

The greater portion of the territory left to Mexico, since it has been so greatly curtailed by the North Americans, is comprised in the region, equally distributed to the right and left of the equatorial line, and bounded to the North and South by the Tropics, which formerly bore the name of the Torrid Zone, as it was supposed to be almost uninhabitable by man, from the heat of its temperature. In fact, where the land is but slightly elevated above the level of the ocean, this zone presents, along with luxuriant vegetation, such a temperature that men of the White race cannot endure the toil of labour there, and that to live they are obliged to retreat into inactivity, almost constantly to shelter themselves within thick walls, and to have all heavy labour, particularly whatever must be done in the face of the sun, performed by a race better constituted for braving its wasting rays. Yet, on islands, the neighbourhood of the sea tempers in various ways the broiling influence of the sidereal king. Where, on the contrary, the superficies of the land spreads out to the vast dimensions of a continent,

the heat rages in the fulness of its terrible power, unless where there is that particular configuration which Providence has been pleased to accord to the Mexican territory in a degree that seems to savour of predilection—that is, unless where there is great *altitude*.* The more remarkable the altitude of a country, the lower is its average temperature, as if it were leaving the Equator to draw closer to the Pole; to the extent that, if the altitude becomes extremely considerable, we meet under the very Line with perpetual ice, and with a temperature almost equal on the average to that of Iceland or Greenland.

The great mass of the Mexican territory, in place of presenting only a slight elevation as compared with the level of the sea, as do the banks of the Niger or Senegal, in Africa, or those of the Amazon, in South America, constitutes a lofty table-land, connected on each flank by a rapidly sloping plane with the shore of an ocean, the Atlantic on one side, the Pacific on the other. It is not among the least of the privileges belonging to this Mexican table-land that the altitudes in which it is seated are pecu-

* By this word is indicated the elevation of the soil above the level of the sea, which is supposed to be extended over the whole expanse of the terrestrial globe.

liarly favourable for the European race to prosper therein, to surround themselves with the produce they like, and the occupations in which they excel, and to live under conditions propitious to their health and the exercise of their faculties in every mode. Thence it was that, even before the arrival of the Spaniards, this beautiful mountain plain was the seat of a remarkable civilization, under the authority of the monarch and military and religious aristocracy of the Aztecs. The Mexican mountain-plain is the flower, the expansion into a head, of the central Cordillera of the chain of the Andes. This Cordillera, which serves, so to say, as a dorsal spine to the New Continent for the prodigious length of 8750 miles, almost in a straight line, presents a different appearance in different regions. After having attained its greatest height and densest mass in South America, it forms that surprising causeway between the two Americas, over 1400 miles long, known by the rather modest appellation of the Isthmus of Panama—not without presenting several strongly marked depressions, that seem to invite the industry of man to profit by their facilities, and to undertake the desired junction of the two oceans. Having reached Mexico, the great Cordillera spreads out so as to occupy the

larger part of the space between the two seas, though that space goes on incessantly extending as it advances towards the North. Thus we have a region suspended above the sea at an altitude of 4900 feet in the Mixteca, to the south of the cities of Puebla and Mexico, of 7137 feet at Puebla, and of 7426 feet at Mexico.* The fine city of Guanaxuato, situate to the north of Mexico, and celebrated for the silver-mines in its vicinity, is at the height of 6800 feet, or considerably below the capital. Beyond Guanaxuato the ground again rises.

A few mountains shoot up from the surface of the table-land, some of which rear their heads into the inhospitable regions of eternal snow. Such are the two at the foot of which are built, towards the south, the handsome city of Puebla, and, towards the north, Mexico, the capital; and they preserve their Aztec names, Iztaccihuatl (the White Woman), and Popocatepetl (the Smoking Mountain); † they are respectively of the height of 15,700 feet, and 17,716 feet. Such, at a short distance from Mexico, is the Nevado de Toluca, about 15,000 feet in height. But how-

* The altitudes here given for Puebla, Mexico, and Guanaxuato are those of the ground in the Plaza Mayor.

† I recollect that this volcano is still active.

ever colossal they may be, these elevations are but accidents, compared with the great extent to which the table-land expands; they are even collected within a very restricted district. The six great mountains of Mexico—that is, the three already named, and three others, that no less attract the eye, the Pico de Orizaba, the Cofre de Perote, and the volcano of Colima, are all on a line parallel to the Equator in 19° of latitude. With the exception of the narrow band marked by these majestic peaks, Mexico presents a table-land stretching out far towards the north, with undulations that have no notable change of altitude save at long distances. Immense plains, looking like the dry basins of ancient lakes, succeed one another, separated by hills that barely rise 650 to 800 feet above the general level. You thus travel on without stoppage at the height of the passages of Mont Cenis or St. Gothard, or the Great Saint Bernard, in the Alps. But transported to the Equator, these lofty altitudes, in place of being nipping and severe for man, as they are in the Alps, become, on the contrary, beneficial to him. The Mexican table-land maintains this great elevation in a northern direction to beyond the Tropic of Cancer; it commences in 18° of latitude, and finishes in 40°; the entire develop-

ment, then, being 22°, if we take 69¼ miles to a degree, the total extent is 1523½ miles. This is a distance equal to that which would have to be passed over in going from Lyons to the same tropic, crossing the breadth of the Mediterranean and the great African desert. It will be seen that we have here a geographical conformation of the vastest proportions.

On both flanks of this long table-land the inclined plane that descends to the shore of one or the other ocean, presents a temperature more and more elevated as it approaches the level of the sea. The incline is rapid, and that alone produces a greatly accelerated variation in climate, and in all the phenomena depending on heat, particularly in vegetation. The traveller who either ascends or descends this incline witnesses picturesque and even wonderful contrasts. He passes in review nearly every kind of cultivation, and contemplates, almost by the side of each other, products that elsewhere are distributed over endless distances. If he sets out from the table-land, for instance, he begins by traversing forests of pines that remind him of those of Europe; or fields of olive-trees, vines, wheat, or maize, still more resembling those of France; interspersed, however, with spaces covered with

large cactuses—a vegetation of sombre aspect, not rejected by the most arid territory — and with fine aloes, sometimes wild, and sometimes cultivated. Continuing his route, he comes in succession on the orange-tree, which has been multiplied extremely by the Spaniards, and the fruit of which he will find exposed for sale in the markets, even at Mexico, in heaps that are positively mountains; on the cotton-tree, which is indigenous, and of which the Indians wove cloth, and made cuirasses capable of resisting arrows, before the arrival of the Spaniards; on that variety of the cactus on which the cochineal-insect is reared, a production also dating from the Aztecs; on silk, of which there are qualities peculiar to the country, proceeding from an insect different to the European *bombyx;* on the banana, the coffee-tree, the sugar-cane, and the indigo-plant, which are imported cultures, but all succeeding admirably; on the plant from which vanilla is gathered, and on the cacao-tree, both essentially of Mexican origin—for chocolate, perfumed with vanilla, was a Mexican dish that Montezuma placed before Cortez; in brief, on all that vast variety of highly-flavoured fruits, and perfumed or brilliantly-tinted plants, that require a burning sun, and

the presence of which is justly considered as the sign of great agricultural wealth either already or easily to be acquired.

As regards climate and produce, Mexico presents three great divisions, which the Spaniards have long ago designated by characteristic names, and which may themselves be subdivided almost *ad infinitum*, either in reference to varying altitudes or to other circumstances, and notably to difference of aspect. The first of these three zones, called the Hot Region (*Tierra Caliente*), begins from the shore, and extends to a certain height on the inclined plane by which the table-land is ascended. The vegetable kingdom reigns here in exuberant force, from the mere excess of the temperature, and from the presence of running streams, which are met with more than elsewhere. This district has a particularly active vegetation on the slope to the eastward of Mexico, because the trade-winds, which are the prevailing winds, arrive on that side laden with the moisture they have collected in their long course over the surface of the ocean. It is distinguished by produce known under the name of tropical. Unhappily, at several points, particularly in the vicinity of the ports bathed by the Atlantic Ocean, it is desolated by the yellow fever, the

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focus of whose pestilence lies in marshes that human industry will some day succeed in draining—whenever, indeed, it may choose to apply the powerful means placed at its service in the present day. Above, half way up the inclined plane, extends the district called the Temperate Region (*Tierra Templada*), possessing a mean annual temperature of from 18° to 20°*, where the thermometer shows very little variation from one period of the year to another, so that it enjoys a perpetual spring. This is a delightful region, exhibiting its most perfect type in the environs of Xalapa, and the charms of which are again met with around Chilpancingo, the city in which the first Congress assembled during the War of Independence. It possesses a vegetation almost as active and as vigorous as that of the coast, without having the heated atmosphere and pestilential miasma of the beach and the country bordering thereon. It is exempt from the myriads of annoying or venomous insects that swarm in the lower region of the *Tierra*

* Degrees of the French centigrade scale. The mean temperature of the *Tierra Caliente* is about 77° of Fahrenheit; of the *Tierra Templada*, 68° to 70°; and in the city of Mexico, which is in the *Tierra Fria*, the mean temperature is about 64°.—*Note by the Translator.*

Caliente, and are the torment of man. You breathe there the pure atmosphere of the table-land, without being subjected to its occasional coldness and keen air, dangerous to delicate lungs. The Temperate Region is a terrestrial paradise, wherever water is abundant, as at Xalapa and some other districts, where the eternal glaciers of the mountains, such as the Pico de Orizaba and the Cofre de Perote, supply the springs all the year round.

Above the temperate zone lies the Cold Region (*Tierra Fria*), so named from the analogy colonists coming from Andalusia must have found there, in a portion of its development, to the raw climate of the Castilles; but Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Germans, located in the Cold Region of Mexico, consider that they are almost everywhere in a mild atmosphere. The mean temperature of Mexico and of a good portion of the table-land, is 17°; it is but a little less than that of Naples and Sicily, and is that of the three summer months in Paris. The variations from one season to the other, as everywhere in the Tropics, are much less than in the finest and most temperate parts of Europe. During the season that we can only call winter by an excessive expansion of the terms of the dictionary,

the mean heat by day in Mexico is still from 13° to 14°; and in summer the thermometer, in the shade, does not rise beyond 26°.

Favoured by such a physical conformation, the most varied products may be, and, in fact, are collected together — I do not simply say in the various provinces of the same land, but in the environs of the same city. Four basins, ranged at very unequal altitudes, surround the city of Mexico: the first, which includes the valley of Toluca, has an elevation of 8450 feet above the level of the sea; the second, the valley of Tenochtitlan (Mexico), 7190 feet; the third, the valley of Actopan, 6390 feet; and the fourth, the valley of Istla, 3188 feet. These four basins differ at least as much in their climate and the produce of their soil as in their elevation above the ocean. The fourth, the lowest in elevation, is suited for the culture of the sugar-cane; the third, to that of cotton; the second, to that of European wheat; and the first, that of Toluca, is distinguished by plantations of the agave, or Mexican aloe, that formed the vineyards of the Indian Aztecs, and supply the fermented beverage still drank by the majority of the Mexicans. If, then, Mexico had, as regards internal communication—what

it is far from possessing now, but what it will necessarily have one day—something like what is to be met with in the smallest States of the North American Federation, it would require but very few hours to see all kinds of produce and the most varied climates defile before the eye. In a distance like that from Paris to Orleans, or even half of it, you would pass from wheat to the sugar-cane, from the poplar and the ash to the palm-tree, from gigantic cypresses* to that multitude of trees, with foliage always green, that belong to the hottest regions of the earth. Let us imagine only one railway in Mexico—a railway that will be constructed as soon as order reappears there—that from Vera Cruz to Acapulco, through Mexico. In an hour or two's transit, going from Mexico towards Acapulco, from a vegetation tolerably analogous to that of the environs of Paris, we should reach plants that greet the eye in Cuba or San Domingo; for from Mexico to Cuernavaca, where sugar estates are prosperous, is scarcely farther than from Paris to Fontainbleau. Independently of phenomena produced here and there by exceptionally favourable aspects, the extreme

* Of the *cupressus disticha* kind.

variety of the picture displayed before the traveller's eyes by the vegetable kingdom, is yet further increased from the peculiar elasticity which the temperament of plants, even of those which, like the sugar-cane, are supposed to be very delicate, appears to possess in Mexico from circumstances special to the country. The cultivation of that wealth-producing cane, which is tolerably well developed there, and might be much more so, is to be met with at very different altitudes. It begins on the very plain of the sea-coast, and is continued in all its fecundity to the height of 3250 feet; it even succeeds in valleys sheltered from the north winds by a favourable aspect, at 4800 feet, and higher still. Thus, flourishing sugar estates are to be found in Michoacan, in the environs of Valladolid, at an altitude of more than 5850 feet; and the sugar plantations of Rio Verde, to the north of Guanaxuato, are above 6500 feet high; but the valley they occupy is narrow and deep, and the mountains, rising up to perpendicular walls, reflect the rays of the sun into it to such a degree that the heat is insupportable. Lastly, it is proved by the will of Hernando Cortez, that in his time there were sugar estates in the very valley of Mexico. Mexican agriculture, well directed

and well attended to, would have a brilliant future, were it only from that one article.

Probably there does not exist on the entire globe another country whose configuration is so peculiar and so advantageous. The elevated districts that present themselves in Europe in the form of great plains, are almost constantly at a height of between 1300 and 2000 feet. The table-land of the Castilles is at an altitude of about 2400 feet. The table-land of the central departments of France, from whence tower Mont Dore, the Puy-de-Dôme, and the Cantal, has about the same elevation. The table-lands of the Castilles, or of the centre of France, and *à fortiori*, those of Bavaria, have not what that of Mexico has, the sea almost at their feet—the sea, did I say? —two great oceans. And then, in Europe, on descending from the table-lands towards the sea, you do not encounter that admirable succession of all climates and of all the wonders of the vegetable kingdom. In South America, the vast territory of the former Republic of Colombia, now broken into three—the contour of which, on the side towards the sea, exhibits the general form of a large semicircle, joined together by the Isthmus of Panama—presents, like Mexico, this characteristic of an area comprised be-

tween the Tropics, and descending by steps of great height to the sea, which there, also, is the two great oceans; but the elevation of the plains is much greater than on the major part of the Mexican table-land, and is too great. The city of Santa-Fé-de-Bogota is seated on a plain 8500 feet high; Caxamarca, the ancient residence of the Incas, made celebrated by the treasures attributed to Atahuallpa and the catastrophe of that prince, is 9300 feet high. The great plains of Antisana are still loftier; they hold a position 13,300 feet high, overtopping the Peak of Teneriffe by something like 1250 feet. Carried merely to the scale of Santa Fé, altitude becomes a disadvantage, producing a marked abatement in the temperature. Paralysing the power of vegetation, it prevents the establishment of a fully productive cultivation of the land, and thence becomes an obstacle to the ascending movement of public and private wealth and the progress of civilization. It is observed on the table-land of Mexico that, after the height of 8100 to 8450 feet, the soil ceases to receive, during the summer, that quantity of heat which is necessary to bring to maturity very many of the productions that civilized man seeks for subsistence or pleasure.

The mean temperature of the year still remains higher than in those countries of Europe where agriculture and horticulture flourish most; but, in point of caloric, the mean temperature is not the only circumstance that determines success or want of success for crops, and fixes the agricultural system suitable to a district. Great consideration must be paid to the summer temperature, for it is that which fosters the development of the bloom, that ripens the harvest and the fruit, and consequently, that makes the fortune of the cultivator. When we have passed a certain altitude, a country situated in the zone comprised between the Tropics has, with reference to the production of the majority of the most useful plants, a marked inferiority as compared with regions at a greater distance from the Equator, but having the same mean annual temperature. Between the Tropics, on the table-land of Bogota, or on that of Anahuac, the winter is milder than in Europe, or than in the countries in what is called the temperate climate of America, from Boston or Chicago to New Orleans; but then, at a certain altitude, the rays of the summer sun are not powerful enough to communicate that stroke of heat required at the decisive moment by so many of the grains

and fruits that are precious to man's sustenance and to the arts of civilization.

There is another difference between the Mexican table-land and the elevated districts of Southern America to the advantage of the former; which is, that the plains of the latter hemisphere are rather valleys, longitudinally enclosed between two branches of the Cordillera, whilst in Mexico it is the very mass of the chain that forms the mountain plain; whence it follows that in the sense of breadth—that is, perpendicularly to the Equator—the South American plains are limited in extent. They are so in a different sense from another cause: the country is rent by transverse crevices, the depth of which runs to even 4500 feet, and these oppose almost insurmountable obstacles to communication. Thus South America, in place of an immense mountain-plain like that of Mexico, presents a chess-board of small plains, separated by enormous precipices. According to Humboldt, they have but an average of forty square leagues (about 187,500 acres), or half the average extent of a French arrondissement. They are, as it were, isolated isles amid the aerial ocean. The existence of these deep clefts, furrowing the continent in the elevated regions of Southern

America, prevents the transport of merchandize, and hinders men from travelling other than on horseback, or on foot, or on the backs of Indians, for whom this labour of a beast of burden remains a calling to this day. In Mexico, on the contrary, though very little has been done for the roads, vehicles run along on ground levelled by a grand stroke of nature from Mexico to the city of Santa Fé, in the province known as New Mexico, which, absorbed by the United States, now forms a territory of the same name. This distance is about 1400 miles.

A further superiority possessed by Mexico over a portion of the other equinoctial regions of America is the small number of its volcanoes, and the absence of those violent earthquakes that occur elsewhere, from time to time, to the destruction of cities. For the last hundred years but four volcanoes can be enumerated as still active throughout the whole extent of the country: the Pico de Orizaba, which has had no notable eruption for three centuries; Popocatepetl, which is constantly ejecting smoke, but for a series of years in very small quantity,* and does not devastate the neighbourhood; the

* It appears that it ejected a much greater quantity at the period of the conquest.

Tustla mountain, and the volcano of Colima, which appear never to have caused disasters. In September, 1759, an unexampled phenomenon caused to spring out of the earth—accompanied by circumstances that created much consternation—a new volcano, that of Jorullo, giving out flame to this day; and around it there at the same time appeared an infinity of small cones that have never ceased to smoke.* None of the cities of Mexico have suffered from those terrible earthquakes that have desolated and at times ruined Guatemala, Lima, Caracas, and other centres of population of Central Southern America. Under some of them the ground shakes pretty frequently. Mexico itself is of that number, but the quakings are so slight as to give the inhabitants no anxiety. They are no hindrance to houses being built in several stories; they merely enforce the giving a solid foundation to walls, and an abstinence from pointed architecture. That fine building, the Mineria of Mexico,

* In the province of Valladolid, among fine plantations of sugar and cotton, near numerous villages peopled by Indians. An idea may be formed of the proportions assumed by the eruption and the character it presented by this simple detail, that the roofs in the city of Queretaro, distant 125 miles, were covered with ashes.

which it was sought to render elegant by the introduction of light columns, soon threatened ruin. The corners of the houses in Mexico are not always perfectly upright, and a slight inclination from the vertical in the parapets of buildings sometimes strikes the eye at the crossings of the streets; but the effects of the agitation of the soil stop at these harmless perturbations. They are well got rid of at so cheap a rate.

The weak side of Mexico is its water supply, with which it is very ill provided. The streams to be met with are torrents, that in the fine season, which, as in the West Indies, answers to our winter, are almost all dry. The Rio Bravo del Norte, formerly in the middle of the country, is on the frontier since the United States seized on Texas. To the south, the Guazacoalco, a navigable river, the mouth of which might be turned into a good port, is no longer within reach of populous provinces. It appears certain, however, that, in primitive times—I mean at the period of the conquest—its banks were thickly peopled. The Santiago, or Tolototlan, which empties itself into the Pacific Ocean near the port of San Blas, pursues its course in the neighbourhood of towns, and flows through widely cultivated districts; but it is

almost a solitary exception in the populated territory—at least, as regards the extent of its course. Fortunately, during the rainy season, which lasts the four months of our summer, the soil of Mexico is watered abundantly in the afternoon of everyday; and then are filled not only the natural reservoirs that feed the springs, but also the pools, prepared by the foresight of man to ensure a store for the purposes of agriculture. On the table-land rivulets, and even springs, are somewhat rare. The same phenomenon is encountered there as in calcareous countries; not that its conformation is similar to certain table-lands in the south of France, commonly designated by the name of *causses*, where very few springs are to be seen, but it is fissured in the same way. The rain-waters, absorbed by the soil, sink through innumerable imperceptible chinks, in such a way as to form slender or moderate streams, that run down the slope of the two plains inclining towards the sea. In brief, Mexico is a dry country, often even arid. A few lakes, however, are scattered here and there; the largest is that of Chapala, the surface of which is more than 750,000 acres, or double the size of the Lake of Constance, whose extent is somewhat uncommon. It is situated in the

populous part of the table-land, not far from the important city of Guadalaxara. Those lakes must also be mentioned that form a net-work about the city of Mexico; they are five in number, and bear the names of Tezcuco, Xochimilco, Chalco, San Christoval, and Zumpango, together occupying a superficies of 110,000 acres. Nine others may be reckoned to the north of the city of Zacatecas, and five round Chihuahua. Unhappily, the water of the majority of these lakes contains a very sensible proportion of carbonate of soda, to such a degree that establishments for procuring that salt have been formed there; but the profit of the manufacture is purchased by a serious inconvenience—the water of the lakes is unsuited for irrigation, which is everywhere a valuable resource for agriculture. Neither is it worth anything for domestic purposes.

The salt just spoken of impregnates a portion of the soil of Mexico. It ascends to the surface, drawn thither by the dryness of the atmosphere. It shows itself in efflorescences, very visible from their white colour. It is to be remarked, for example, in the valley of Mexico, on the borders of the lakes of Tezcuco, Zumpango, and San Christoval, and in a portion of the plains that

surround the city of Puebla. The presence of this salt is certainly an obstacle to cultivation. Nowhere is this phenomenon more prominent than in Eastern California, in the valley comprised between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. Attention has recently been drawn to that vast area, where a commencement has been made in working some mines rich in silver; among them, those of Washoe obtained from the beginning a premature celebrity, excessive in comparison with their real value. The saltness of the soil in the valley we speak of is very remarkable, so much so as to render vegetation almost impossible; but the country has ceased to form part of Mexico, having been incorporated in the North American Union. In the present state of Mexico, there is no reason for laying very much stress on the presence of these ever efflorescent salts, although they condemn a portion of the territory to a barrenness afflicting to the eye; for there remain many other districts excellently adapted to call forth the industry of the cultivator, and to produce rich and varied crops, for the profit of home labour and for the exports of commerce.

CHAPTER II.

THE MINERAL RICHES OF MEXICO—THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

THOUGH the surface of Mexico is fertile, though it opens to agriculture a far more varied career than is offered almost anywhere else, what in the language of the French courts, is called the *tréfonds*—in other words, the interior of the earth—is not behindhand in also revealing rich treasures. Mines of silver abound, and the country furnishes a certain quantity of gold, that comes almost entirely out of the mines mentioned. Ingots even of the latter metal are obtained by the process known as the *départ*. For some years past, Mexico has been surpassed in the production of the precious metals by two countries—California and Australia. The first, which is a slice of Mexico itself, began in

1848 to furnish an amount of gold very far superior to the supply from the Mexican Republic of gold and silver combined; and very recently a beginning has been made in working the silver-mines that are of any promise. Of the precious metals, Australia, as yet, produces none but gold, and, like California, it yields an amount that exceeds the produce of silver not only in Mexico, but throughout the whole of America. But, up to 1848, Mexico was the first country on the earth for the production of the precious metals. Its yield of the two together surpassed in value the product of all the rest of the New Continent. If Mexico has been thus robbed of the first rank, the fault is not that of nature, but of man. We find here the fatal influence of that mischievous political organization that has arrested progress in every shape.

The veins of silver in Mexico had not, immediately after the conquest, the reputation of those in Peru. It was in the last-named country that, a few years after the audacious invasion of the Spaniards under the guidance of Pizarro and Almagro, there was discovered a mine of silver so prodigiously rich that the name is still used to signify unbounded wealth. This wonderful mine is that of the mountain called *Hatun Po-*

tocchi, which, for euphony, Europeans have turned into Potosi. There has been drawn from this mountain 280,000,000,000*l.* sterling.* Under Montezuma and his predecessors the Aztecs worked a few mines of silver, but they were not sufficiently skilled in metallurgy to address themselves to any but those that contained the metal in its native state. But such mines present themselves somewhat rarely. In the greater part of the ore advantageously dealt with, the aspect of the silver is entirely hidden by an intimate association with sulphur, antimony, and arsenic, so thoroughly that the eye of a person not versed in the science would not recognise the metal; and what is more serious, it is not easy—it is even very difficult—to disengage it entirely from these various combinations. We know, on the contrary, that in gold-mines the metal is in its native state; and let us observe, by the way, that this difference explains the phenomenon, confirmed by history, that the Spaniards found more gold than silver among the people of America, although the mines of silver are more abundant and more considerable

* The mountain is still worked, but the ore of great richness it formerly furnished is now replaced by a quality of extreme poverty.

than those of gold in the countries where Europeans first established and developed their dominion. Even in the Aztec empire, which was more advanced than the rest, the yield of silver was very limited, although it was the country most rich in mines of that metal.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Mexican mines yielded no more, either in gold or silver, than 1,080,000*l.* sterling, and almost all in silver. Fifty years later, they reached 2,600,000*l.* At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, they averaged from 5,000,000*l.* to 5,200,000*l.*, nine-tenths of which was in silver. Mexico has yet barely regained that level, which was lost during the agitation and disorders that accompanied the War of Independence. It remains none the less the chief producer of silver throughout the entire world. If we set California aside, it will be found that it produces almost three-fifths of the yield of entire America in both the metals. In reference to silver taken by itself, its quota would be rather greater.

The number of argentiferous veins in Mexico is almost unlimited; they become very numerous to the north of Mexico, on the western side of the country. As we approach the Gulf of

California the entire slope of the Cordillera is composed of rocks in which a little silver is disseminated, and which are intersected by layers of that other hard rock, ordinarily of a milky whiteness, which mineralogists call quartz. From their hardness, these layers of quartz have generally resisted the action of the air and the weather; and thence it is that they crop out above the surface. These are argentiferous veins, and they contain the silver in this form—sulphuretted metals are found in them, in the number of which is silver, accompanied with combinations characterized by the presence of antimony and arsenic, as well as sulphur, and of which the precious metal also forms part. These are the veins attacked by the miners, who choose the spots they imagine to be rich. That which distinguishes the argentiferous veins of Mexico, and also those of the majority of the other countries of America, is the largeness of their dimensions, much more than the great proportion of the metal, The *Biscaïna* vein, worked in the Mexican mine of Real del Monte, is several yards in thickness. The vein known as the *Veta Madre*, at Guanaxuato, is ordinarily eight yards thick; sometimes it is over fifty, and it has been worked to a distance of eight

miles. Several other known veins are five, seven, and ten yards thick, and double that in places. According to the testimony of a learned German naturalist, Herr von Tschudi, veins are found in Peru thicker than even that of Guanaxuato at its best. Thus, at Pasco, two veins have been known and worked for a long while, one of 114, and the other of 123 yards thickness. In general, but with exceptions that are often repeated, the ore extracted, even after the barren stuff has been thrown aside, has only two or three parts out of a thousand that are useful—that is, that barely five to eight pounds of silver are extracted out of a ton of ore submitted to treatment. But the immense quantity of ore furnished by these mighty veins permits a considerable yield, and handsome profits are frequently obtained even from that small proportion.

That which distinguishes the mines of Mexico from those of Peru, and from the major part of the other countries of America that possess veins of silver, is the character of the sites in which they are to be met with. The majority of the Mexican mines are in regions hospitable to the human race. It is seldom that they are situated at more than 6500 to 7150 feet above the level of

the sea. The celebrated mines of Valenciana and Rayas, near Guanaxuato, which, at the commencement of the century, yielded more than ever did the Potosi mountain, are in a charming climate, and within reach of a district that produces in abundance whatever is needed for the comfortable subsistence of the miners, as well as fodder for the mules, which are employed on the works in great numbers. The mines of Peru, on the contrary, are in glacial regions, bordering on the eternal snow. Thus the Pasco mines are at an altitude of more than 13,000 feet, in the lofty mountain in which the Amazon takes its rise. The Gualgayoc mine is 13,260 feet high. The celebrated mine of Potosi has been worked to a height as great as the summit of Mont Blanc. The mountain of Potosi, from the sides of which so much treasure has been extracted, has an elevation of 15,811 feet above the sea, and of 3071 above its own base, so that the lowest altitude at which it can be reached is 12,740 feet. The country that surrounds the peak is arid, frightful, and, what aggravates the situation of the miners, inaccessible for want of roads, which it would be very expensive to make. The single circumstance of being situated in a favourable climate ensures to

the Mexican mines great facilities in working, and consequently a great development. *Cæteris paribus,* moreover, manual labour is cheaper where provisions are cheap; and wherever workmen are attracted by the beauties of the climate, we may be well sure they will flock in abundance.

It was a Mexican miner, Bartolomé Medina, — to whose memory no monument has been consecrated,—who conceived, in 1557, the method by which almost the whole of the ore has been treated down to the present day. This method is that called the *cold amalgam;* it is based on the employment of mercury, and of some other ingredients much less dear, such as salt, and a substance known in the country as *magistral.** It allows of the metal being extracted from poor ores without having to melt them, consequently, without combustibles—a circumstance very fortunate in a country where timber was not common at the era of the conquest, and where the Spaniards have destroyed it, as they have in almost every country where they have established themselves. It presents, besides, the advantage of accommodating itself to works on a very large scale. But though it does not swallow up combus-

* This is a mineral composed of sulphuret of iron and sulphuret of copper, both having been previously calcined.

tibles, it consumes mercury, and in large quantities. It is calculated that, to produce one pound of silver, a pound and a-half of the other metal has to be sacrificed. It will be seen by this that abundance and a low price of mercury are conditions to great activity in the mines and to a large yield of silver. This explains the incessant appeals addressed to the Court of Spain by the Mexican miners of a former day, entreating that it would sell to them the mercury, of which the Court had a monopoly, at a moderate price. The greater part of the mercury submitted to general competition, and particularly all that went to Mexico, came from the Almaden mine in Spain, which belonged to the Crown.* These appeals were listened to. Dating from 1777, the miner purchased the mercury at Mexico at the rate of 4s. per 2½ lbs. The Spanish Government having, after the Declaration of Independence, farmed out the Almaden mine, the farmer augmented the price considerably; and, till lately,

* At the beginning of the century, the silver-mines of the New World absorbed annually 3,375,000 lbs. of mercury. Those of Mexico alone consumed 1,875,000 lbs. The mines of Europe, by far the principal of which was that of Almaden, yielded 4,375,000 lbs., of which 2,875,000 lbs. went to America. The mine of Huanca-Velica, in Peru, furnished a certain proportion to the Peruvian mines.

mercury cost the Mexican miner from five to six shillings the lb., according to the situation of the mine. The absolute necessity of having a quantity of mercury for extracting the silver from the ore accounts also for the representations of the mine-owners to the viceroys, who were the distributors, and who often did not hesitate to get themselves well paid for the trouble by abominable exactions.

Under the circumstances in which the silver-mining industry was placed from the fact of the Almaden monopoly, the discovery made in California, some fifteen or twenty years ago, of new mines of mercury of great richness, was a vast benefit to it. Once masters of the country, the North Americans had them surveyed, and organized the working of them with the incomparable activity that characterizes that people. In the creation of vast establishments for its extraction they were assisted by the situation of the new mines, which are in one of the prettiest and most fertile valleys in all California, in proximity to San Francisco, the capital. The New Almaden mines—for that is the name given to the deposit—are now in full work; they already yield as much of the metal as all those of Europe put together; they produce it under excellent conditions, and

it is believed there will be no other limit to the production than the very wants of the silver-mines. It results from an excellent memoir on the metallurgical wealth of California, by M. Laur, a mining engineer, that we may soon look to see mercury offered for exportation at San Francisco at a price little beyond tenpence per lb. Nothing more will be wanting to give to the working of the silver-mines of Mexico, and of the New World in general, an extraordinary impulse. In fine, if Mexico would adopt a political organization that would re-establish order, security, and respect for property; if good roads and a few railways were constructed, so as to reduce the cost of transport, which is exorbitant; if the mining-laws were to receive a certain number of improvements, that have been pointed out by competent men, the yield of silver there would soon assume the largest proportions.

At the commencement of the century, Von Humboldt wrote as follows:—"In general, the abundance of silver is such in the chain of the Andes that, reflecting on the number of the deposits of ore that have remained untouched, or have been only superficially worked, one is tempted to believe that Europeans have scarcely

begun to profit by the inexhaustible fund of wealth contained in the New World . . . . . Europe would be inundated with the precious metals, if the deposits of ore at Bolanos, Batopilas, Sombrerete, Rosario, Pachuca, Moran, Zultepec, Chihuahua, and at so many other places that enjoyed an ancient and just celebrity, were assailed at one and the same time with all the means offered by the perfection to which the art of the miner has attained." M. Duport, another well-informed observer, who visited the country forty years later, said:—"The deposits that have been worked for three centuries are nothing to those that remain to be explored . . . . The time will come, a century sooner or a century later, when the production of silver will have no other limits than those imposed by the always augmenting decrease in its value." The moment appears near when these predictions are to be accomplished, either because Mexico will have reconstituted herself, or, if she should refuse to do so or fail in the work, because she will fall a conquest to the North Americans.

It must not be conceived that Mexico is destitute of gold-mines, properly so called. There are some that appear extensive and rich, but the working of them has never been vigorously

pushed; for that reason they have never given, and continue to give, but a moderate yield. Those in the province of Oaxaca deserve attention, and some quantity of gold has been extracted from them; but the most remarkable of the kind are those in the province of Sonora, which are coveted by the North Americans; and they were at one moment on the point of obtaining them by barter for a sum of eleven millions of piastres (about 2,280,000*l.*), which they were to have advanced to the Mexican treasury, then embarrassed.*

In regard to gold, Sonora appears to be a

* Mr. Corwin, the American Minister at Mexico, negotiated a treaty with the Government there, in 1862, in virtue of which the United States were to have advanced to Mexico the sum of 11,000,000 piastres, a portion of which would have been appropriated to paying indemnities due to English subjects. In return, Mexico pledged to the United States what remained unsold of the clergy estates, and all the unoccupied lands of the Republic. This indefinite mortgage would, according to all appearance, have been held to apply to Sonora. In the first instance, the Senate of the United States refused to sanction the treaty. In the second instance, President Lincoln repudiated it of his own motion, without referring it to the Senate. On its side, the English Government declined this mode of indemnifying British subjects.

prolongation of California, to which it is contiguous. All travellers speak with admiration on the subject of the fine strata of auriferous alluvium it contains. There is Von Humboldt, who in truth spoke only from hearsay, but who excelled in appreciating at its just value the intelligence laid before him. There is M. Duport, who, though he, too, had not penetrated into Sonora, has collected with great sagacity much detailed information on the province. There is M. Duflot de Mofras, who has travelled over all the districts of North America washed by the Pacific Ocean and the Vermilion Sea, and carefully observed everything. Want of hands, at once the cause and effect of the want of cultivation to which Sonora has been abandoned, hinders these fine auriferous strata from being brought to profit. But this is simply repeating what we have just said with regard to the silver-mines of Mexico: either the Mexicans will make a better use of these elements of public and private wealth, or they will lose the province itself, as they have lost California.

The province of Sinaloa, which is a prolongation of Sonora in a southerly direction towards

the Pacific Ocean, just as Sonora is a continuation of California, will also, according to testimony worthy of credit, present deposits of gold of great importance.

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION — ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREME SIDES OF THE OLD CONTINENT AND BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT OCEANS.

MEXICO has received from nature still further privileges than the precious gift of great variety in its climate and productions, or than those mines of silver that have no parallel in the world. It has been endowed with another advantage which may be a source of prosperity and greatness, and that is the position it occupies on both oceans. On its eastern shore it is opposite to Europe, and its western shore is on that great ocean which is justly named in those quarters,—for the greater part of the year at least,—the Pacific. By the latter it can easily maintain relations

with a great number of productive countries: there are the populous empires of Asia—India, China, and Japan; there are, likewise, the prosperous colonies which, within the last fifty years or less, the enterprising genius of the European race has founded in the archipelagos scattered over the immensity of that vast ocean, or on the recently-peopled shores it bathes. Australia and California are the two most striking results of this intelligent activity of the race of Japhet; and we can foresee the speedy creation of new establishments among those innumerable isles. Have we not beheld in those seas within the last few years the Marquesas, the Society Islands, New Zealand, and New Caledonia, added to the domain of Western civilization? Of the old colonies of Europe in those distant regions the greater part have risen in power of production. Java offers the finest example of this. The Philippines, which might constitute an empire of themselves alone, seem to be issuing from their immobility of ages. Thus a new life, infused by the genius of Europe, is penetrating from all parts into that great ocean. Does not a country so well situated as is Mexico in regard to that vast and diversified basin, seem called on to derive from it considerable benefit?

The time is past when an eminent philosopher, ordinarily very clear-sighted in his prognostications, could write that we must consider as almost null the influence Asia would ever exercise on the New Continent, and *vice versâ;* because, in one sense at least, "the constancy of the trade-winds, and the great current of rotation, also as constant, between the Tropics," would render such relations difficult to all eternity. Since Von Humboldt expressed himself thus, the steamboat has made its appearance; it has received successive improvements that have made it a machine of marvellous speed and exactness, and perfectly satisfactory in regard to safety. Thanks to this invention, that accelerated communication between Western America and Asia which seemed impossible, has become extremely easy.

To form an idea of the energy with which the current of European civilization is now precipitating itself on the field that the Pacific Ocean and the lands bordering on it have been presenting for some centuries, we have but to take account of what the commerce of Europe or the United States was with India, China, or the neighbouring colonies scarce sixty years since, and to compare its proportions with those it

has acquired in our days. Then, the English East India Company held in its hands the entire exchange of products between Europe, India, and China; and the exchange so monopolized was very moderate in amount. The United States, still weak and without capital, had a share in it to the extent of a small number of vessels. Japan was closed, Java languished, and Singapore was not in existence. In Australia, a few thousand convicts were slowly and painfully accustoming themselves to the practices of an honest life by cultivating the soil. There had not yet been discovered that system of territorial settlement which has made that colony the principal wool-producing centre for the manufactures of Europe—still less the mines of copper, and especially those of gold, that now proffer a boundless career to the industry of the miner. California was then peopled only by some convents of missionaries, teaching the rudiments of Christianity, as well as they could, to a few tribes of poor Indians. It was not suspected to conceal those mines of gold, whose presence, suddenly and by chance revealed to the daring genius of the North Americans, attracted thither intrepid colonists from all parts of the world, and converted the desert valleys of Sacramento and San Joaquin

into one of the most interesting focuses of Western civilization.

It results from an abstract, for which I am indebted to the kindness of that most able statistician, M. Chemin-Dupontès, that, at the beginning of this century, the commerce which the people of the West—that is to say, the nations of Europe and the United States—carried on with India, China, Japan, and the colonies scattered among the islands of the Pacific Ocean, export and import together, was to the amount of 16,400,000*l.* sterling; and that in 1860, it amounted to 86,000,000*l.*, without reckoning the opium which England now imports into China from India, representing a value of about 3,200,000*l.**

But it is not merely the necessity of traffic, or

* The abstract of M. Chemin-Dupontès shows that, since the beginning of the century, the commerce of the United States with the basin of the Pacific Ocean, defined as above, has quadrupled (239 millions of francs against 59). That of England has decupled, if we take in the value of the opium imported into China (1960 millions against 195); whilst that of France has only doubled (92 millions against 50). It is true that in addition, through the medium of England, France has taken silks from China to the amount of a hundred millions. By means of the new steam-packets, this trade will henceforth be effected under the French flag.

the bait of the most precious of metals, and the desire, so strong in the majority of mortals, of plucking lumps of them from the alluvial soil, or even from the bowels of the earth, that attracts the European race to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the present day. To these motives are joined the feeling that the terrestrial globe is the patrimony of the sons of Japhet, and the notion with which the great governments of Europe are possessed, that it belongs to them to intervene in the affairs of the peoples of Oriental civilization, and to overthrow the barriers with which they obstinately surround their conceited routine. The cannon of Europe have forced the gates of China, the most populous empire in the world, containing a number of human beings double that of entire Europe, from Cadiz and Lisbon to Christiana, from Dublin to St. Petersburg—537 millions of souls against 270.* The flags of France and England have floated over the walls of Pekin; and the last campaign

* The population of the whole of Europe, including Turkey in Europe, amounts to 270,000,000 (*see* Malte-Brun's "Geographie," Cortambert's edition, vol. vi. p. 352). The census of 1852 recorded in China a population of 537,000,000 (*see* the article "Péking," by M. Natalis Rondot, in the "Dictionnaire du Commerce" of M. Guillaumin.)

has left a profound impression on the imagination of the Chinese. We are at last empowered to believe that the Imperial *Son of Heaven* will never again resume the policy of isolation* which led the Celestial Empire to such a depth of weakness and humiliation. That campaign, of which Europe would have the right to be proud if it had not been marked by acts of vandalism, accomplished an immense fact—the Wall of China was thrown down, never again to be built up. Japan, startled at the re-echo of the English and French campaigns in China, lowered her

* I do not wish the reader to suppose that, in speaking of the profound impression left on Chinese imaginations by the last campaign, I attribute a wholesome effect to the act of intimidation that consisted in burning the palaces enclosed in the Imperial Park of Yuen-mien-yuen. The feeling of enlightened Europe has condemned that premeditated violence. A deplorable circumstance aggravated the barbarous act—pillage accompanied incendiarism. The one of the two Governments whose Plenipotentiary insisted on the accomplishment of the misdeed, did itself the wrong of appearing to approve of it, by the very fact of abstaining from making it the subject of public reprimand. The more the European States affect a superiority over other parts of the world, the more ought they to observe honourable conduct towards them. To dominate over Asia by force of arms, if respect for the rights of humanity be not joined therewith, is to take a place in the same rank with Attila and Jenghiz Khan.

barriers of her own will the moment an invitation to that effect was addressed to her. Years have already passed since India and the adjacent kingdoms, up to and including the valley of the Indus, and the empire of the Five Valleys, or Punjaub, were conquered by English arms. Thus Western civilization, whether residing in Mexico or in the American Union, or whether it has its seat in the States of which London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg are the flourishing capitals, sees before it in Asia an infinite expanse, henceforth open and calling for its commerce and enterprising sons.

The course of events seems to be guided by a superior force, that tends incessantly to multiply the points of contact, and to prepare a connexion, a solidarity even, between Europe—or, it were better to say, Western civilization—and the different branches of Asiatic civilization. Industrial necessities involve ever increasing exchanges between them. The accidents of commerce, and the perturbations of agriculture, concur with political combinations, as I am about to show, to make the West, so proud of its superiority, feel it cannot do without that far distant East, which it would be inclined to hold in contempt. Thus the production of the raw material of one of the most

beautiful manufactures of the West, that of silk, has of a sudden received a severe blow in Europe by a pestilence unheard of in the annals of agriculture—the silk-worm disease—against which all efforts have hitherto failed. Thence the manufactures of Europe, to procure what our silk-worm nurseries have ceased to furnish them with in sufficient quantity, have been compelled to address themselves to China, where silk abounds; and we have had an enormous importation of silk into Europe from that quarter. Lyons, Elberfeld, and Manchester could not get on if China had not come to their aid, and handed them her silks. But there is another example still more striking. Very lately, civil war having broken out in the North American Confederation, cotton, of which the Union was the principal furnisher, ceased to arrive in the markets of Europe. The sensation caused was deeply felt, and shared in by the Governments themselves; for when the most extensive of manufacturing industries, that which occupies the largest mass of workmen, that whose produce represents the greatest amount of money, runs the danger of being paralysed, the matter assumes a very grave political character. Every avenue was tried in order to obtain supplies of

this indispensable textile. It has been established that, in this respect, in the existing state of things, Asia was already in a position to offer to the factories of Europe unlooked-for resources, which might be made almost indefinite by the undertaking of various public works, railways, and plans of irrigation. In India and the south of China, a numberless population dress themselves in cotton cloths. The yield of cotton, then, is already extremely large there. The cottons of Asia, especially those of British India, have entered suddenly into the consumption of European factories, and even into those of the North American Union. A system of public works, destined either to facilitate the traffic in that article, or to multiply and improve its cultivation in India, is in course of execution, and is prosecuted with the persevering vigour characteristic of the English nation. There are no good reasons for the opinion that China could not also furnish important quantities of raw cotton to the European manufacturer, if she were solicited for it.

These recent and unforeseen exportations of silks and cottons from Asia to Europe naturally call for their counterpart. We see, and we shall see more and more, a development of importation

into Asia not only of the merchandize of the States that take from her raw materials, but even of other portions of Western civilization. Here, then, we behold the establishment of strong links between Asia and the countries where our European races have settled; and these are not the only ones. The relations between the great Asiatic empires that border the basin of the Pacific Ocean, and the regions occupied in the two hemispheres by the energetic and active civilization to which we belong, are in course of extension in another way, which is not the least important nor the least curious.

Want of labour has made itself felt in the major part of the sugar colonies, as a consequence of the emancipation of the Blacks, because, in the greater part of those possessions, a large number of the emancipated slaves profited by their liberty to abandon labour on the sugar estates. In the extremity of their embarrassment, the colonists fixed their regards on Southern Asia, and remarked that regions so populous would offer a superabundance of manual labour at a moderate rate. India was first sounded, and that country was able, without the least inconvenience, to afford, under the name of *coolies*, the labourers necessary to replace the Blacks.

From India they soon turned to China, which presents in that point resources still more vast, for the population of China is triple that of entire India.* Asia, then, now proffers herself as an inexhaustible storehouse of manual labour, and, let it be said to the honour of our times, of free labour; for the Hindoo or Chinese who emigrates with the colonies for his destination, does so in virtue of a bargain freely entered into, limited to a not excessive number of years, and the condition prepared for him is not that of a slave. This movement having once begun at the instigation of emigration agents, it was continued spontaneously by the Chinese, who are the most industrious of Asiatics. They came of themselves to seek work in certain countries where a want of hands had been pointed out to them. They hastened to California, where they now are to the number of 35,000,† nearly all employed in washing the auriferous strata. The search for gold in Australia has exercised over

* According to Malte-Brun's "Geographie" (Cortambert's edition, vol. iii. p. 487), the countries in India possessed by England, or subject to her control, have a total population of 174,000,000, that of China being 537,000,000.

† The United States census of 1861 records the presence in California of 34,919 Chinese.

them a similar power of attraction. In both countries they set an example of love of labour, of economy, and obedience to the laws. If the governments and populations of the regions that avail themselves of the Pacific Ocean received them with kindness—which, we must say with regret, has not been the case in California and Australia—there would be no limit to the multitudes that would leave China to come and mingle in the current of Western civilization in all those quarters. No country would profit by this so much as Mexico, if willing. It is a subject to which we shall return in treating of the population.

Lastly, Mexico is further privileged in the fact that the two oceans are found to approach each other so closely. The breadth of the continent is reduced to 137 miles about Tehuantepec, to the south of Vera Cruz. To the traveller desiring to pass through Mexico, after landing at Vera Cruz, on his way to Acapulco, which is at the foot of the other slope, the distance (as the crow flies) is but 345 miles, nearly that between Paris and Bordeaux. Further to the north, by Durango, the distance between the oceans be-

* See the following chapter.

comes 625 miles. Among the numerous directions in which it has been proposed to traverse the causeway, some 1440 miles long, that unites the body of Southern to that of Northern America, the route by the Guazacoalco and Tehuantepec is the most northern of all, and the most convenient to Europe and the United States. For those Europeans who did not take the Suez route, and for North Americans, it is the one that would most abridge the voyage to California, China, Japan, and the East Indies. Nothing would be easier than to run a railway across.* It is not

* The Isthmus of Tehuantepec Railway excited a good deal of attention for some years in the United States, more than in Mexico. It was conceded to Don José Garay by President Santa Anna, so far back as 1842. The concession has since changed hands, by reason of the versatility, not to say bad faith, of the Mexican Government, which kept up a rivalry between the capitalists of New York and those of New Orleans, and also fomented pretensions from English houses. Meanwhile the surveys were finished with care; the works were even begun, and a road for vehicles was opened parallel to the line of railroad, as a preparatory means. With regard to its windings, the railroad would take 145 miles between Minatitlan, a point on the Guazalcoalco, twenty miles from its mouth, and the port of Ventosa. The expense of the railway was estimated at eight millions and a half of dollars, or 1,751,000*l.*, including the completion of the road for vehicles, the deepening of the bar

absolutely forbidden to hope some day for a ship-canal, for the table-land of Tarifa, where the great lock would be, is not more than 650 feet above the level of the ocean. More may be desired; and even the still imperfect exploration of another point of the isthmus, to which Von Humboldt called attention, creates a hope of better conditions for the height of the lock, and several other matters.* We know, however, that 650 feet is nearly the elevation of the highest lock in the Canal des Deux Mers, cut by the illustrious Riquet across Languedoc.† There are sufficient facilities for getting to the lock the quantity of water necessary for feeding the canal. One of the conditions to carrying out the construction of a ship-canal is to find a safe port, and one offering an anchorage of a certain depth, at the extremity of each incline.

of the Guazacoalco, and 100,000*l.* for improving the port of Ventosa.

The importance of the route may be estimated from the fact that the Government of the United States offered fifteen millions of piastres to that of Mexico for a grant of the concession in full property and sovereignty.

* In that part of the isthmus called the Darien, much farther to the south than Mexico.

† The elevation of the highest lock on the Canal des Deux Mers is 614 feet above the Mediterranean.

There is room for believing that this condition can be tolerably fulfilled in this instance. On the eastern side, there is the Guazacoalco, whose estuary is sheltered, and where large vessels may lie, the bar once got over. The obstacle of the bar does not appear to be insurmountable; it is stated that the bed of the river may be deepened at a small cost. On the western side, the port of Ventosa, near Tehuantepec, presents a hopeful appearance. It seems it would be possible to create a safe shelter there with sufficient depth, by means of works the outlay for which would be in no respect excessive.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POPULATION—ELEMENTS COMPOSING IT—THE CHANCES OF INCREASE IT PRESENTS—POSSIBLE IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE.

THE actual population of Mexico appears to be about eight millions of souls, of whom more than half are Indians of pure blood; of the rest, the majority consists of *castes* of mixed blood, who are principally sprung from Whites and Indians. The Blacks and the Mulattos, resulting from a cross of the African race with Whites or Indians, form other distinct categories, but they constitute altogether but an insignificant fraction of the total population. At the beginning of the century, the pure Blacks did not exceed 10,000; which gives an idea of what there might be then, and what there must be now, of the mixed blood of Black and White, or Black and Indian. This feeble proportion of the African

element and its descendants has been, and continues to be, a benefit to Mexico. And first, it rendered the emancipation of the Blacks very easy. On this matter, it may be mentioned as a fact to the honour of the Mexicans, that emancipation was accomplished by the spontaneous wish of the slave proprietors, before the country appertained to itself, before the movement for Independence had begun.* The constitution given to itself by independent Mexico, in proclaiming the abolition of slavery, simply recognised a fact already consummated. In the second place, from the almost complete absence

* Mr. Ward says on this subject—

"The plantations of Cuernavaca were all worked, in the first instance, by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from three to four hundred dollars each. The difficulty of ensuring a sufficient supply during a war with a maritime power, and the number of slaves who perished from the sudden change of climate on the road from the coast, induced several of the great proprietors to endeavour to propagate a race of free labourers, by giving liberty to a certain number of slaves annually, and encouraging them to intermarry with the native Indians, which they soon did to a very great extent. The plan was found to be so economical, that on many of the largest estates there was not a single slave in 1808; but the policy of the measure became still more apparent in 1810, for as soon as the Revolution broke out, those planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation were abandoned at once by their slaves, and

of negros, there results a certain superiority in the average intelligence of the Mexican people as compared with that presented by some other portions of Spanish America. I do not wish to decry the descendants of Ham; and it does not enter into my thoughts that anything can justify for the future the slavery of that unfortunate race. We are not authorized, from the intellectual inferiority of the Black, to conclude the legitimacy of a social institution that turns that variety of the human species into a herd of cattle. This explained, I do not hesitate to say, that it is fortunate for Mexico, or at least for the *Tierra Templada* and the *Tierra Fria*, to be peopled almost solely by Whites and Indians, and their cross-breeds, to the exclusion of African blood. The Indian has, spontaneously, a greater liking for labour than the Black, and has a manifest advantage over him in the faculties of the mind. If we make a comparison between the civilization to which the Aztecs had attained

forced, in some instances, to give up working their estates; while those who had provided themselves in time with a mixed caste of free labourers retained, even during the worst of times, a sufficient number of hands to enable them to cultivate their lands, although upon a reduced scale."—Ward's "Mexico in 1827," p. 67.

in a limited number of centuries,* and the gross barbarism of the most prominent Negro kingdoms Africa has ever had, we shall be struck with the superiority of the former. As we have already seen,† Cortez found in Mexico not only a great number of the useful arts, but also a certain development of the fine arts, with laws regularly enforced, and a large number of populous towns, the very existence of which necessarily implied a certain advancement in social life and an already perfected administrative system. It is still more significant, that the Aztecs possessed a literature, some remnants of which have come down to us, and possess a real interest, as shown by the fragments I have quoted.‡ They had some notions of the sciences; and, for instance, they knew the length of the year better than did the Europeans themselves at the same epoch, which

* The Aztecs did not come into Mexico till the close of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and Tenochtitlan was not founded till the fourteenth. If we desire to embrace, as is proper, the space of time occupied by the Toltecs, we must go back to the close of the seventh century, which would make about 830 years to the taking of Tenochtitlan by Cortez.

† Vol. I., pages 17 to 46.

‡ Vol. I., pages 47 and following.

excited the astonishment and admiration of the illustrious Laplace. As to *morale*, in the defence of their country against the Spaniards they displayed heroic qualities, of which the rapid sketch of the conquest traced in a former Part gives but a feeble idea. Some of the varieties of the Mexican Indian even exhibit the peculiar qualification looked for in the Negro, and which, after having been the origin of the systematic enslaving of the sons of Africa by the Europeans in the sixteenth century, is still put forward by those who wish to perpetuate their servitude—they are gifted with the power of perfectly resisting the heat of the sun, and are thence fit for the cultivation of the earth in the hottest countries. Thence it was that, prior to the conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortez, the region now known by the name of the *Tierra Caliente* was more peopled than in our time, and presented the characteristics of a relative prosperity. The detailed narratives of the conquest given by some of the companions in arms of that great man, such as Bernal Diaz, attest the existence of fine cities in the *Tierra Caliente*. At the present day, nothing can be perceived of them but their ruins, scarcely distinguishable under the luxuriant vegetation that has sprung

up among the buildings, and rooted itself in the walls, with a far different vigour to that of Horace's destructive fig-tree (*mala ficus*). In the country around these towns, as within them, population was abundant. Posterior to the conquest, the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the labour in the sugar-houses,—which is considered in the West Indies as labour of the most painful sort,—were always done principally by Indian hands, and only occasionally by those of Negros, introduced as slaves.

The Whites make scarcely but a sixth or seventh of the population; and even among persons who give themselves out and are accepted as belonging to the unmixed White race, a goodly number have in their veins a portion of Indian blood, were it only by reason that, after the conquest, the widows and daughters of the Aztec nobles became lawful wives to the companions of Cortez, or to Spaniards that arrived immediately afterwards. They brought them riches, and found protectors in them.

There is room for surprise that, after a possession of three centuries, Spain should not be represented in Mexico by a much larger number of offspring. A million, or even twelve hundred thousand souls, after that period, would manifest

a poor capacity for populating, and would furnish a contradiction to the opinion often put forth, that the colonies of Spain had dispeopled the mother country. A White population far superior has sprung up in much less time in the United States, without the density of the population of England being affected by it. When they had acquired their independence, the United States possessed 4,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom 3,172,000 were of the European race, and the rest Blacks, or Mulattos. This was the fruit of only a century and a half of occupation, and consequently of emigration as well as of multiplication on the spot. In our own times, Great Britain, properly so called, or the two kingdoms of England and Scotland united, sends off numerous swarms to Canada, Australia, and other colonies; which, however, does not prevent its being one of the countries of Europe in which population increases the most.

It must not be said that the territory on which the United States are thus developing, being an exceedingly vast country, is for that reason much better suited than Mexico to the wants or tastes of emigrants, for the objection would be unfounded. Under Spanish dominion, Mexico had a superficies eight

times larger than France, which supposes an indefinite field open to the activity of colonists. The extreme diversity which the altogether peculiar configuration of the Mexican territory gives to the climate of the different provinces, although they are separated by very short distances, and that which ensues as regards the productions man may demand from the earth, invests Mexico with a power of attraction that addresses itself to every liking and every aptitude of the industrious colonist, and proffers a perspective calculated to captivate him. The presence of argentiferous veins added thereto from the beginning a seduction to which enterprising characters are sensitive, and which was wanting in those northern countries colonized by the English. *Cæteris paribus* then, Mexico ought to have been the aim, more than those English colonies in continental America now become the United States, of that section of the population whom emigration or the desire of gaining wealth influenced to cross the ocean.

The comparison would not be just were we to draw a parallel between the feats of populating witnessed by our epoch, or rather accomplished by it, and those of former times. For about half a century, that is, since the return of

general peace, the genius of improvement has acquired unlooked-for strength, of which nothing in the past would afford an idea. Men have become more enterprising, and more liberal institutions have fostered in them a spirit of initiative and daring. In the stride made by the useful arts in general, the means of communication, responding to one of the most energetic instincts of existing generations, have made rapid progress, and States, no less than free industry, have eagerly multiplied them. From the entire of these circumstances has resulted a prodigious activity in the peopling of certain countries far distant from Europe, either because the families there, tranquillized as to the future by the reign of peace, have increased faster, or that emigration from other countries has brought them a flood of inhabitants. It is only with certain clearly defined reservations that it is allowable to compare this phenomenon of the time present with the peopling of Mexico by a White race under the Spanish dominion; but these reservations made, the comparison cannot fail to be instructive.

Of those countries I shall take the most striking examples: that of the United States, regarded successively in their whole and in

certain of their parts, among which California speaks for itself; that of Australia, and specially of the great auriferous region, the province of Victoria.

According to the census of 1860, the White population of the United States amounted to twenty-seven millions. The space of time that had passed away up to 1860, from the moment when the current of emigration from England to continental America assumed activity, is far less than the interval from the taking of Tenochtitlan or Mexico to the year 1810, the date from which the agitations of civil war prevented a continuance of immigration and of the development of the White race in Mexico. We may, moreover, consider 1810 as the termination of Spanish sway in New Spain.

Up to the discovery of the gold-mines in 1848, California was a desert. In 1802 Humboldt counted there a handful of Spaniards, with a few tribes of Indians half-converted to Christianity —15,562 inhabitants in all, scattered over an immense superficies. The census of 1860 recorded there 326,000 Whites, all new-comers, without reckoning 35,000 Chinese and some thousands of Blacks and free Mulattos, independently of Indians. Such was the result of only eleven

years of immigration. A similar phenomenon was manifested in Australia, setting out from 1851, the date of the discovery of the gold-mines. The province of Victoria, where the mines have proved to be richest and most abundant, had then a population of 77,000 souls; in 1861 it counted 540,000—an increase of 463,000 in ten years. The new population of Australia is almost all European-born; that of California came from the same source but in part, the United States having supplied the major portion. But the voyage from Europe to Australia or California is of extreme length. That from the United States to California is less; but still it is more difficult than that from the Peninsula to Mexico, for it is composed of two long sea-passages, intercepted by a journey across the Isthmus of Panama.

In regard to peopling, I know nothing more remarkable than what occurred in the State of Illinois from 1850 to 1860. During that decennial period the State passed from a population of 851,000 to one of 1,712,000—a gain of 861,000 souls, or of more than cent. per cent. It is to be noted that this prodigious increase is almost entirely of the White race, for the Blacks and Mulattos are in very insignificant numbers

in that fine State, and augmented but 2136 from one census to another. Illinois did not present the powerful attraction of the gold-mines that summoned so many enterprising men to California and Australia, or of the silver-mines that went for a good part in the peopling, though so feeble in comparison, of the Mexican provinces. The industry of Illinois is the cultivation of the soil —a cultivation whose products are analogous to that of France, the vine excepted. The principal attraction of the country is the facility there, under liberal laws, of creating a territorial patrimony.

To sum up, we have the right to say that the meagre development of the White population in Mexico is a testimony against the institutions Spain had at home, and which followed her into her colonies. It was, in fact, an organized compression and the negation of liberty.

It is impossible for me not to add that the slender progress of the European population in Algeria, as compared with the examples I have just cited from Australia, California, the State of Illinois and the United States in general, does not tend to give a favourable opinion of French administration in its connexion with colonization.

On the subject of the power and vastness assumed by emigration in our times, some curious information will be found in the excellent commentary on the census of 1860 in the United States, published by Mr. Kennedy—a census the direction of which was confided to his enlightened care.* A grand spectacle is this successive heave of European emigration to the destination of the United States under the influence of various causes, among which must be ranked the improvement of means of communication, both between Europe and America, and the American seaboard and the interior. During the ten years from 1790 to 1800 the American Union received a total of 20,000 emigrants; during the following ten years, 70,000; from 1810 to 1820 it went on to 114,000, and it was nearly the same in the succeeding decennial period. Then we must subtract the mere travellers who returned home, which would make, according to Mr. Kennedy, a deduction of 14 or 15 from the 100. But, dating from 1838, the emigration movement from Europe to the United States became more animated. The

* Mr. Kennedy's publication bears for title, "Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census." 1 vol. 8vo, Washington, end of 1862.

number—no longer decennial, but annual—of emigrants landed at the ports of the United States, without reckoning the arrivals by way of Canada, reached 100,000 in 1842, exceeded 200,000 in 1847, and rose, exceptionally, to 427,000 in 1854.* It decreased in the following years, and fell to below 200,000; it has even approached 150,000; but still, 150,000 emigrants in a year constitute an important acquisition. What would we not give to have a fourth of them in Algeria!

With reference to the capacity for emigration revealed in our times by European civilization, we have an exact document for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This is the "Statistical Abstract."† It results from it that the number of emigrants reached 299,000 in 1849, and 368,090 in 1852. From 1851 to 1854 it was considerably above 300,000. During the three following years it exceeded 176,000;

* Irish and Germans are those principally that emigrate to the United States.

† This document, published every year, sums up in a very small volume all the main facts of trade and administration for the preceding fifteen years. The French Government has just imitated it, but not to the same extent. The information relative to the finances is wanting in the French document—I know not why.

to 1860 inclusively it was more than 114,000. It fell to 92,000 in 1861, under the influence of the conflict going on in the United States.

But let us return to the enumeration of the elements of which the population of Mexico is composed. There had long been in the environs of the port of Acapulco, the place of arrival and departure for the Philippines and China galleon, a few half-breeds, sprung from a cross of the Asiatic races with the population of the country. This is a class of inhabitants who may be indefinitely multiplied by the immigration of Chinese. For the latter in our day make their escape in every direction they see open, impelled as they are by the desire of flying from the arbitrary and tyrannical *régime* under which they groan in their own land, and attracted into countries where Western or Christian civilization holds sway, by the relative mildness of its laws, and by the protection almost everywhere ensured there to the property and person of the industrious man.

A civilizing Government that desired to attract to Mexico a large quantity of this laborious population would succeed in it with very little effort. It would be sufficient, in fact, to make a display of justice towards them, and to guarantee

them against the insults and hard usage wrongfully heaped on them by the Anglo-Saxon colonists of California and Australia. In both those countries the Chinese have been subjected to exactions and ill-treatment. Threats of expulsion are continually hanging over their heads, and yet they remain there in tolerable numbers. If the Chinese knew a region where they would be protected equally with the Whites, there would be no need of going to any expense in looking for them; they would hasten thither of themselves in crowds. Few countries are situated so favourably as Mexico for becoming the goal of Chinese emigration. From their application to labour and their intelligence in commercial matters, they would be a valuable acquisition to the Mexican nation.

Up to this day China has not been looked upon to the extent it ought to have been as an inexhaustible reservoir of population, whence might be drawn not only clever, sober, frugal, and indefatigable workers, but also traders of rare ability. Up to a certain epoch it was the fashion to apply to the inhospitable deserts of Scandinavia the pompous title of *officina gentium*. That appellation may, at a day not far off, belong to China, in the sense of a belief being permissible

that the course of events will cause numerous and countless hordes to issue from thence, who will direct themselves to far distant countries.

Thanks to the prompt and economical means of communication afforded by modern civilization, large migrations are becoming easy. We have just seen that hundreds of thousands of persons were annually conveyed to the United States before they were desolated by civil war. It would not be more difficult to people Mexico with Chinese emigrants than the valley of the Mississippi, or the upper basin of the St. Lawrence, with the sons of Ireland or the cultivators of the banks of the Rhine or the Oder.

It is admitted on all hands that an industrious population is the foundation of wealth. Nothing more is needed than that the Governments of those States whither it would be easy to bring Chinese, should bestow pains on such immigration, and be willing to encourage it. The reason alleged in California and Australia by the abettors of proscription against the Chinese is, that they are too clever as workmen, that they labour too perseveringly, that they are too much inclined to live on a little, and that thence they are injurious competitors to the Whites. But the defects with which the Chinese are re-

proached are qualities to the taste of impartial men, and are what should make them sought for in such lands as Mexico, where the people too often present contrary dispositions.

The population the country could bear would be very considerable, since the superficies of Mexico, deducting all that has been severed from it by the North Americans, is still more than threefold that of France, and it is a land that, with an equal area and even ruder culture, would feed more inhabitants than would those of Europe. In the *Tierra Caliente* and a good portion of the *Tierra Templada*, the banana-tree prospers, without any fear, as in the West Indies, of seeing it uprooted by a hurricane. As a provision for the generalty this is an unequalled benefit, as no plant returns so large an amount of sustenance for so little labour. A banana plantation is perpetuated without the cultivator having anything more to do than to cut the stem whose fruit has ripened, and to give the earth a slight dressing once or twice a year, digging at the same time round the roots. Humboldt calculated, fifty years ago, that two acres and a half planted with bananas would suffice to furnish with food a hundred people; whilst the same extent of land, if sown with wheat in Europe,

supposing a yield above the average of that period—that is, eight grains for one—would barely support four. With a good system of communication, the banana, if cultivated on the two inclined planes that bring the table-land of Mexico into contact with the sea on each side, might become an article of daily food to the inhabitants of that region also. Along with the banana, Mexico has also the manioc or cassava, to which may be added everything that grows in the West Indies or in the warm latitudes of Asia. To these resources maize must be joined, the consumption of which was great even in the time of Montezuma, and which enters into the alimentary *régime* of all parts of the country, under the same form and cooked in the same fashion as then. It constitutes the principal food of the poor and less wealthy classes. Its cultivation originated in the New Continent, and succeeds in Mexico after a fashion of which it would be difficult for European farmers to form an idea. Where it is favoured by great heat and humidity, the plant acquires a height of two or three yards, and yields grain in proportion. The better lands, where the temperature is sufficiently elevated, return in favourable years up to eight

hundred grains for one, and in bad years about a hundred and fifty. For that class of lands, three to four hundred may be looked on as the average, and for the whole of the region within the Tropic the average is a hundred and fifty. The space that a family need put under cultivation for subsistence is therefore infinitely little in the Hot Region, and not extensive in the Cold Region, under ordinary circumstances. Even wheat succeeds admirably in Mexico. The traveller is struck with this in the plains of Toluca, and still more in those he meets with in the environs of Puebla, especially between that city and the village of San Martin.

In the beginning of the present century, whilst wheat cultivated in France yielded five or six grains for one, Mexican cultivation, which was not better, but certainly worse, presented an average produce of at least twenty-two or twenty-five times the seed sown. Humboldt was much surprised at this when it was reported to him, as he came from a land where the soil did not then return more than four or fivefold. He took a great deal of pains to verify the fact, and found it correct, which is a striking proof of the fertility of the land in Mexico. At

that era, too, Mexico produced wheat enough to export some of it in the shape of flour, and furnished a considerable quantity for the Havana market.

We have elsewhere indicated some alimentary plants the cultivation of which has succeeded in Anahuac, or on the two inclined planes that connect the table-land with the sea. The vine and the olive-tree, for instance, prosper in Mexico. The country, indeed, exhibits a union of all climates—there is no produce of which a crop may not be raised. Could we suppose a country in the world so endowed by nature as that it could suffice for its own wants, this would be the one. One of the most sought after of all cultures, because it responds to a want always on the increase among civilized people, and because very lucrative, that of the sugar-cane, was resorted to with preference and success immediately after the conquest. Cortez had sugar-plantations at Cuyoacan, a short distance from Mexico, on the table-land even. In thirty years after the taking of the capital from the Aztecs, Mexico exported sugar to Spain and elsewhere. At the commencement of the present century, it supplied to general commerce, beyond its own

consumption, 15,000,000 or 18,000,000 lbs.,* an enormous quantity, looking at the detestable state of the means of transport.

The land also affords a large quantity of animal food. The cattle imported by the Spaniards after the conquest have multiplied. They breed in the open country, without any great pains being taken to foster them. Countless herds might be formed, if there were any desire to bestow a little trouble on the matter.

But the capacity of a State for population is not measured solely by the quantity of produce for general use that it can be made to yield. It is more justly estimated by the extent of production in every shape to which the industry of the inhabitants can be forced; because, products being exchanged for products, the articles obtained from the factories, whatever they may be,

* The ancient Mexicans made a sweet syrup with honey; they had also another furnished to them by the *agave*, or *maguey;* they also extracted sugar from the stalk of the maize, which has more saccharine in the equinoctial regions than in France. The manufacture of sugar by that process has not ceased even yet. The sugar-cane was not found among the Aztecs nor any other part of America, either continental or insular.

are transmuted, by trade with the foreigner, into alimentary commodities. Thus it is that the cotton yarns and cloths of Glasgow and Manchester, or the hardwares of Birmingham, are converted for the English nation into wheat—into animal food, alive or salted, into sugar, tea, coffee, and liquors of all sorts. We know what a prodigious quantity England receives of these various articles, even of those produced by her own agriculture; her importation of grain of all kinds amounted in 1861 to 46,680,000 hectolitres.* By a similar process of exchange, founded on the intelligent application of diversified industry, the State of Massachusetts in the American Union, which has the least fertile soil of all the States, has attained to the pitch of feeding and maintaining, in a superior degree of comfort, a population relatively more numerous than that of the others, and almost as dense as that of France. The reason is, that its inhabitants create wealth in every form—products of manufactures, products of navigation, profits of commerce. They have even got so far as to obtain

* There was some re-exportation; and then the import of 1861 was above the average. The hectolitre is rather more than 22 gallons English.

fine crops from a soil of the most mediocre quality.*

Mexico might devote itself to various of those cultures to which the title of commercial has been reserved, for the reason that Europe seldom procures them but by way of exchange, and that they give occasion for distant freights. Sugar is already in this class; and, *à fortiori*, cocoa and coffee, which succeed well in Mexico. Cochineal, and above all, indigo, which both yield excellent results to the Mexican cultivator, may some day support a wealthy trade with the foreigner. Cotton, to which attention has been turned from all parts, since civil war broke out in the United States, might be furnished in large quantities by Mexico to the manufacturers of Europe. That,

* The population of Massachusetts is 158 persons to the square league. Rhode Island, which stands next, is 134; Connecticut, which is in the third rank, falls to 98; New York, which occupies the fourth, is 84 only, although it includes a city of more than a million souls. So that by the square *kilomètre* Massachusetts has 61 inhabitants. The average of France is 67; but the population of Massachusetts has developed with more rapidity than that of France. In the decennial period from 1850 to 1860 it has augmented 11§ the square kilomètre, whilst that of France has remained almost stationary. At that rate, the population of Massachusetts will exceed that of France in denseness in 1870.

indeed, would be no novelty, for Mexico has never ceased to produce cotton for her own wants, and to forward more or less to the European market. A considerable portion of its surface is admirably adapted to its culture. The Western coasts produce cotton of the finest quality, and those of the Mexican Gulf furnish some which still maintains its reputation. There was a time when the export of cotton from Mexico exceeded that from the United States. That was but a few years before the close of the eighteenth century; but since then that culture and trade have acquired the vastest proportions in the United States, and in Mexico everything has languished—everything has grown weaker instead of strengthening and extending. It is none the less true, that Mexico, well-governed, would offer to our European manufactures unlimited resources for supplies of this precious textile. It would also be possible to transmit to Europe, wool, silk, flax, and hemp, for all those things might easily be produced there, and some of them are actively so already. Indeed, Mexico did export a little wool under the Spanish dominion. Join to all these the working of the silver-mines, which ask only for labour and skill,

and it will be seen that Mexico presents an indefinite field for man's activity, and that, consequently, it could maintain a very large population though confining itself to the production of raw materials. That is not all, however. If we take into consideration that in several parts of the country the population is so condensed that the manual labour necessary for factories may be found there at a moderate rate, and that there are some already in existence asking only for security to develope themselves, we shall arrive at the conclusion that the present population of Mexico is very small in comparison with what it would be possible for it to support.

At the close of the last century and commencement of the present, ere the crisis of independence had declared itself, the Mexican population followed a rate of progress at least equal to that which signalized the United States. It is established by the abstracts of births and deaths drawn up by the parish priests, that the average was 170 births to 100 deaths—a proportion extremely favourable. The United States themselves were not doing altogether as well at that moment. The population of the viceroyalty of New Spain and of the United States was

then almost the same—about 7,000,000 souls. What a 'change' now! And the progress of wealth, of intelligence, of power, have in the United States been even more marked than that of the population, whilst Mexico was exhibiting the afflicting spectacle of continuous decay.

PART VII.

THE MOTIVES THERE MAY BE FOR AN INTERVENTION OF EUROPE, OR OF FRANCE ALONE, IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEXICO, AND THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS IT PRESENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT EXPEDITION.

THE expedition dispatched to Mexico by three Powers at first, but which is now left to the charge of France alone, has given rise to various questions—let us rather say to various objections, that have been urged with more vivacity in France than elsewhere. This will be easily conceived, since it is France alone that bears the burden. It is not popular—far from it; twenty circumstances have brought down on it this unpopularity. From the beginning it was clogged by military incidents that must, in frankness, be designated as checks, at the very time when hopes were nursed that the advance of the French soldiers from Vera Cruz to Mexico would be a triumphal march, greeted by the

acclamations of the inhabitants. Since then all the difficulties of the expedition have been perceived, though they were not sufficiently measured before it was undertaken; and they have been recognised to be certainly not insurmountable, though very serious. It has entailed expenses that were far from being expected, and which have come most annoyingly to disarrange the financial plans adopted by the Emperor, on the proposal of an enlightened and courageous Minister, and sanctioned with fervent eagerness by the Chambers and the public. Those plans were to ensure to the country a grand result —the re-establishment of equilibrium in the Budget, long vexatiously disturbed. Now, behold the equilibrium again destroyed! Lastly, the expedition has expended many brave fellows, soldiers and sailors, who have not had the consolation of dying on the field of battle, in face of the enemy, in the midst of a glorious conflict: they were carried off by an epidemic that awaited them at Vera Cruz, as in an ambuscade, against which the courage of the men and the ability of the chiefs were powerless.

The question is asked throughout Europe—asked especially in France—why the States of Europe, either together or separately, should

meddle in the internal affairs of Mexico? For the expedition supposes not only the desire of obtaining redress for certain definite grievances, for the interest of a small number of Frenchmen, but also a determined intention to exercise a decisive influence on the political system of the country. The expedition has an avowed purpose: it claims to be the point of departure for the political regeneration of Mexico.

Now this induces the remark, that such a programme involves great and prolonged military efforts; for to attain the object, there is required not merely a flitting apparition at Mexico, but the command of the entire country, the keeping garrisons in a certain number of towns, and even the formation of entrenched camps at a few strategic positions. The maintenance of such forces would not fail to impose heavy sacrifices on the taxpayer.

It will be contested by no one that the French Government is justified in demanding, and even in exacting, notable satisfaction from that of Mexico. Acts of spoliation have been committed on Frenchmen; outrages perpetrated by military chiefs have remained unpunished, if not rewarded as deeds of renown. Frenchmen have been assassinated without the murderers being pro-

secuted even for form's sake, though they were known. The Government of the Emperor might even consider itself insulted by the rude reply tendered in answer to its complaints, and by the conduct observed towards its official representative. All these grievances are perfectly established; but it is urged that insults proceeding from the authorities of Mexico cannot touch the honour of France, which is above the aim of a Government in its last extremities. It is added, that if France were desirous of obliging Mexico to indemnify her citizens for the damage and wrong they have been subjected to, and of forcing the Mexicans to reparation, the most efficacious means would have been to seize on a small number of ports—those through which Mexico traded with Europe and the United States. The receipts of the custom-houses would have been then appropriated, and the Mexican Government, deprived of a revenue that forms the most tangible of its resources, would soon have been brought to terms.

The expedient thus recommended to the French Government is, perhaps, not so simple and so practical as it might appear. To quarter a French army at Vera Cruz, Alvarado, and Tampico, would have the grave inconvenience of

devoting the expeditionary corps as a prey to yellow fever, which is exceptionally virulent in those parts, and is more formidable at Vera Cruz, where the largest force would have to be stationed, than anywhere else in the world. We have been told of a detachment of three hundred young Mexican soldiers, brought down from the mountain-plain to Vera Cruz, which melted away in three months under the fatal influence of yellow-fever, to that degree that there were only twenty-eight survivors remaining. This was an extraordinary, an extreme case; but it is a known fact, that stationing European soldiers or sailors at Vera Cruz during the hottest months of the year brings on an outbreak of the pestilence, and turns the town into a charnel-house. To keep soldiers on the sea-coast, in order to mount guard over the offices of the customs' collectors, was therefore an impracticable plan. Thus, from the moment recourse was to be had to military measures for obtaining from Mexico the reparation due, it became necessary to advance into the interior; and that determination once taken, it is easy to see that it was equally incumbent to push on to Mexico.

The censure directed against the French expe-

dition, on the ground that, instead of being confined to the occupation of a small number of points on the coast, it has become an inroad on the capital, is therefore easy of refutation. It remains to examine it with regard to the political character given to it in relation to the institutions of Mexico and its system of government. France does not dissemble that she proposes to induce the organization in Mexico of a Government that shall be stable, and in conformity with the notions of modern civilization; which, according to the assertions of the French Government, or, to speak more correctly, in the opinion of all those who take an interest in the fate of Mexico, is the *sine quâ non* condition of salvation for that State. In a word, the Government of France interferes openly in the internal affairs of Mexico; but it makes the declaration, the sincerity of which no one has the right to throw a doubt upon, that it has no design of aggrandizement or conquest. In lieu of thinking to weaken or dismember Mexico,—as did the United States in each of their wars,—it has but one object—to snatch those fine regions from imminent ruin, to pluck up civilization from almost complete decay, and, with the free co-operation of the Mexicans themselves, to

found there a flourishing State, that shall govern itself in complete independence.

Thus stands the question, and these are the terms on which it must be discussed. We must ask ourselves if, so understood, this enterprise of France be opportune or not—if it be in accordance with the maxims of an enlightened, firm, and provident policy—or if, mayhap, it be but a fantasy, on which the treasure of France and the generous blood of her children will have been heedlessly sacrificed. Calm judgments ought not to permit themselves to be influenced more than is reasonable by the accidents of climate that have been experienced, however lamentable they may be, nor to be diverted from a just appreciation by the faults that may have been committed at the outset. We must not require of Governments, any more than of individuals, to succeed by storm, and to show themselves infallible, for that would be to demand that they should be superior to human nature. The only thing we have the right to insist on is, that they should profit by experience, and that past faults should serve to prevent the commission of fresh ones.

Two motives of general policy may be assigned for the expedition, regarded as having for its

object the constitution of as firm a State and Government in Mexico as possible. One is a European, universal interest; and that is to oppose a barrier to the imminent invasion of the entire total of the American continent by the United States. The other, arising out of French policy, is to guarantee and to save from irreparable ruin not only Mexico, but also the whole Spanish branch of Latin civilization in the New World. We shall briefly examine each of these motives separately.

CHAPTER II.

THE MOTIVE OF EUROPEAN INTEREST THAT MIGHT HAVE DETERMINED THE ENTERPRISE.

A MOTIVE common to all the States of Europe, though they may appreciate it in different degrees, is the necessity, for the interest of the political balance of the world, of at length opposing a barrier to the spirit of encroachment which, for a series of years, the Anglo-American slave-proprietors of the South showed themselves to be possessed with, and which they infused into all their nation, as long as it was united. It was a settled plan among the Southern leaders to push forward the limits of the Federation indefinitely at the expense of Mexico, of Spain as the proprietor of Cuba, and of the republics of Central America. These projects of aggrandizement were destitute of any justification to be

drawn from national utility; for of what benefit could more room be to a people whose flag already waved over an immense superficies, where population might increase and multiply for ages to come without fear of being crowded? The area of the American *Union*, if we may still make use of such a term, is fifteen or sixteen times that of France. What phrase, then, is to be applied to this programme of spoliation, considered in regard to its justice? And how is this insatiable lust for territory to be conciliated with the respect due to one another among civilized States, especially when they are so thoroughly marked off by difference of origin and configuration of soil? But the South wished to extend slavery, to introduce into the Union new States that should be characterized by *the peculiar institution*, so as to create a counterpoise to the more rapid progress in population and wealth that distinguished the North, where labour is free—a progress that gave to the North a majority and the ascendancy in the two Houses of Congress. Thus, the Island of Cuba, conquered or annexed, was to have been cut into two States. Already had slavery, spontaneously abolished by the Mexicans, been restored in the former province of Texas, which is more ex-

tensive than France, and is destined to form one day four great States, each equal to five-and-twenty of the French departments, and seven or eight times more vast than Massachusetts, and more extensive even than the powerful State of New York, justly titled the Empire State.* Black slavery would have been also re-established in other portions of Mexico immediately after they had been appropriated. *A fortiori*, this retrograde system would have been imposed on the States of Central America. At a little later period it would have been seen what it was convenient to do with South America. Provisionally, they were willing to leave it in peace.

The execution of this audacious plan was imperturbably pursued. Expeditions of pretended liberators, that failed miserably, were let loose on the Island of Cuba, under the conduct of a Spanish refugee named Lopez. A return was then made to a course of proceeding more compatible with the rights of nations. It was pro-

* The area of Texas is 153,650,000 acres; that of the 89 departments of France is 135,750,000 acres; the State of Massachusetts has 5,050,000 acres, and that of New York 29,750,000 acres. Twenty-five departments represent 38,120,000 acres, and a quarter of Texas would be 38,412,500 acres.

posed to Spain to cede that important colony for a sum of money. Europe beheld three American diplomatists, resident at as many of her Courts, meet at Ostend to sketch out the course to be pursued for the incorporation of Cuba into the Union, partly by consent, partly by force. A spectacle of another kind, but not less calculated to excite universal astonishment, was offered to the world by the reiterated attempts of Walker on Central America. That lawless *condottiere*, after having organized his bands at New Orleans, openly, before all the world, proceeded to carry rebellion, murder, and fire to the shores of Lake Nicaragua. He was the terror and the scourge of inoffensive peoples, and the Federal Government made no serious effort to interpose obstacles in the way of these filibustering enterprises, though they were most manifestly directed against friendly States. Enlightened Northerners reprobated this aggressive policy, which was a violation of all the laws observed between civilized States; but the influence of the South intimidated the Federal Government, and the latter allowed its hands to be tied.

At the same time that the South of the American Union was thus assuming the attitude of a conqueror towards Spanish America, it endea-

voured to suppress the disapprobation its plans and acts created in Europe, by proclaiming a doctrine according to which the Powers of the Old were inhibited from interfering in the affairs of the New World. This was the celebrated doctrine called after Monroe, because it was laid down, but under circumstances very different, in one of the annual Messages of the distinguished President of that name. The reader will remember the recrudescence of legitimist, feudal, and absolutist ideas in the councils of European monarchies that was manifested in 1820 and the following years. It was the cause of great and deplorable events in the two Peninsulas, the Italian and Iberian. Liberal institutions were overthrown there by foreign bayonets, and the subjugation of the peoples was thus re-established by an alliance that dubbed itself Holy. France undertook the execution in Spain, and made the campaign of 1823, which laid low the constitution of the Cortes, and raised again the absolute power of Ferdinand VII. Austria had already accepted and accomplished a like mission, with like success, in Naples and Piedmont. There was ground for the belief that, in their zeal in favour of the principles of legitimacy and the absolute rights of crowned heads, the

Governments that had coalesced in the Holy Alliance, in whose opinion the words "republic" and "national sovereignty" implied the germ of every disorder, and every usurpation, and every crime, might choose again to set up the authority of Spain in her former colonies on the American Continent. The United States were deeply moved at the reactionary heat manifested by the Cabinets of the Old Continent, in most violent language and in summary measures, such as the invasion of the two great Peninsulas of Europe. They nobly resolved on making common cause with the republics that had been erected on the ruins of the Spanish dominion in the New World. President Monroe made himself the worthy interpreter of the courageous and foreseeing determination of his fellow-citizens; and the Message he addressed to Congress, at the opening of the session in December 1823, conveyed the declaration that the United States would consider themselves as one with the republic that might be attacked. So much has been said of the Monroe doctrine, that it is not out of place to reproduce here the passage in which it is set forth:—

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Por-

tugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favour of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries or make preparation for defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With

the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

Such are the terms in which the so-called Monroe doctrine was stated. In strictness, several different interpretations may be given. What North America declared to Europe by the mouth of her President—that she would consider as a personal aggression the fact of attempting to *extend the system* of Europe to any parts whatever of emancipated America, *or to control in any other manner their destiny*—may be understood in two ways. It may be maintained that it refers to an attempt to restore the authority of the Peninsula in any one of the portions of Spanish

or Portuguese America. It may be asserted, too, that it was intended to provide for the case of a project being brought forward for founding monarchies there, though perfectly independent, and even endowed with representative institutions. Of these two versions, authorized by grammar, which is the correct one? We believe that a wise intellect, such as was Mr. Monroe's, who understood Europe and knew the respect due to the freedom of others, was not thinking of the second. In addition, the course of events furnishes a sufficiently clear commentary on the words of Mr. Monroe, and on the sense that was attached to them at Washington. We have the proof that what Mr. Monroe intended—that what was intended in 1823 in the councils of the great American Republic—was to ensure and guarantee against all attack the independence acquired by Spanish and Portuguese Continental America, and that it was in no wise proposed to prevent there the formation of monarchical establishments. That proof is, that it had already accepted the ephemeral Imperial Government of Iturbide in Mexico, because it was an independent Government. So also with Brazil, where a more stable monarchy was erected. Lastly, at that same epoch the Cabinet of Washington had

not the slightest thought of creating insurrection in Canada, or of absorbing Cuba, under the pretext that they were countries submitted to the authority of a monarchy.

Some years afterwards, when the danger foreseen in 1823 for Spanish or Portuguese America had entirely passed away, the noble declaration of President Monroe was travestied and falsified in the United States in its signification and object. It has been transformed into a prohibition intimated to Europe against occupying herself with the affairs of America. According to the fancy of some politicians, and those not the least listened to by the mass of their fellow-citizens, it was even interpreted thus: that Europe was to renounce the possession of everything in America—that is, on the continent, at least; she was to be permitted the islands, and even those not without exception, as was shown by the affair of the Island of Ruatan. The paradox was exalted into a kind of dogma by the flatterers of the multitude, who in all countries, in their vanity, which they confound with the national dignity, love that the foreigner should be humiliated. It covered the designs of the Slavery men, who—Europe being excluded from all influence in America—intended to appropriate

everything in their neighbourhood that might suit them, either by invasion with an armed force, or under the cloak of a sale imposed by threats. An intimate alliance was formed in the bosom of the Union between the Southern leaders and the heads of the party that bore the name of Democratic; and that alliance, which vitiated the internal no less than the foreign policy of the United States, ruled the country for a series of years. Especially, it dictated the choice in the elections for the Presidentship. But it was inevitable that public feeling would be aroused in the great American Commonwealth, so as to restore ascendancy to the principles of liberty and progress. This was accomplished in the election of 1860. The candidate of the Democrats, in coalition with the South, was then vanquished.

Whilst the alliance between the Democratic and the Slavery party in the United States subsisted in triumph, the so-called Monroe doctrine, expounded by audacious commentators, led to a number of acts by which Europe was deeply insulted. Thus it was that Commander Hollins, of the Federal Navy—in which we must believe him to have been authorized by his Government, because he was not disavowed—came

to bombard and then burn San Juan del Norte (or Greytown), the principal port of Central America on the Atlantic, without such unheard-of violence having been provoked by anything, unless it were the resistance of the authorities of the town to the despotic pretences of an American company, and their disposition to ask assistance from the English navy. Other still more significant acts were directly aimed at that one of the Powers of Europe which exhibited the strongest aversion to the propagation of slavery. Haughty England, who had already been obliged to give way on the point of the frontier of the State of Maine, saw herself compelled to accept arrangements painful to her feelings in the matter of settling the boundaries by sea and land of her colony of Belize, in Central America. No occasion for insulting her was allowed to escape.

Europe may have tolerated for a moment these vagaries of the democracy of the United States, inspiredand excited by the Southern slavery-men; but she must have longed to strengthen her shaken position, and to resume the exercise of the faculties she is entitled to lay claim to, for the interest of general civilization. The Mexican affair furnished a favourable occasion, and in

laying hold of it, her conduct is in conformity with what a sagacious policy would advise.

The advantage presented by existing circumstances for the resuscitation of a European policy towards America is, not the fact that, divided into two camps, profoundly hostile to one another, the United States are become less redoubtable, and that in the midst of the furious war to which they are abandoning themselves, less would be risked in paying no heed to their remonstrances, if they uttered any—it is the very different fact, that the North has here the same interest as Europe. The object of the North, which has repudiated slavery, and desires to prevent its being extended, will be attained, if, under the temporary patronage of several European Powers allied for that purpose, or under that of France alone, Mexico should succeed in solving the difficult problem of constituting herself in a stable form; for the Southern leaders, knowing what reception would be henceforth tendered to their aggressions by regenerated Mexico, would renounce their project of dismembering her, to make out of her fragments new Slave States for incorporation into their group. Of what import is it to the North to push for-

ward the boundaries of the Republic? The territory she possesses is so vast that she cannot but be contented, however ambitious she may be. What concerns her is, that a limit should be prescribed to slavery, and that this sentence should be intimated to the *peculiar institution*, "Thou shalt go no further." The expedition to Mexico cannot therefore be annoying to the North; it responds to her notions, it agrees with her policy. The only condition the North may and ought to demand the rigorous observance of is, that the independence of Mexico be respected in full—that there be no question of transforming it into a colony, directly or indirectly, for the real or supposed benefit of any European Power whatsoever. That is the Monroe doctrine, as it was understood by its author. On that footing, France would be perfectly in agreement with the Government of Washington.

It is now a fundamental rule of English politics, to oppose the enlargement of the domain of slavery. English opinion is very firm on that point. What can the English Cabinet have to fear in following the current of that opinion? But, above all, we may conceive that it attaches a great value to resuming in the affairs of the New World that situation of legitimate influence

from which it had been brought to descend, by the exaggerated pretensions of the Cabinet of Washington and its summary proceedings.

In this point of view the French expedition to Mexico, far from giving umbrage to England, seems to have done nothing but obtain marked approbation on her part. We are even entitled to express astonishment that it has not had a more direct and more effective co-operation from that Power.

CHAPTER III.

MOTIVE IN FAVOUR OF THE ENTERPRISE DRAWN FROM THE GENERAL POLICY OF FRANCE.

France is not indifferent in relation to slavery; she is strongly opposed thereto. Still she does not advocate the abolition of that institution of primitive societies with the same ardour and the same religious zeal as England. But she might reasonably find a motive for going to Mexico in the principles of her general policy—a motive special to herself, and not existing for the Çabinet of London. Among the ramifications of which Western or Christian civilization is composed, there is one very distinct branch designated by the denomination of the Latin races. It has its seat in France, in Italy, in the Hispano-Portuguese peninsula, and in the countries peopled by offshoots from the French, Italian,

Spanish, and Portuguese nations. It is characterized by the numerical preponderance, or even by the exclusive domination, of the Catholic creed. It is not all Catholicism, but it more particularly furnishes the pith and vigour of Catholicism. Without derogating from any person or thing, it may be said that France is the soul of this group—and not only the soul, but the arm. Without France, without her energetic initiative, and without the respect commanded by her intelligence, her elevated sentiments, and her military power, the group of Latin nations would be reduced to make but a very humble figure in the world, and would long since have been even completely eclipsed. For the nations just mentioned she is an elder sister, whose authority is their safeguard. She forms not only the top of the Latin group, but is its sole protectress, since Spain has suffered herself to fall so low.

Among the various interests of French policy, as also amongst its duties, there is none greater and more direct than to sustain the Latin group, the bulwark of the whole mass of Catholic nations. It is quite as indispensable to France to maintain, as far as possible, in existence and strength, the various unities composing that

mass, as it can be to the nations of which it is formed, that France should be vigorous and invested with great influence. From the community of ideas and sentiments more and more to be remarked in the nations of Europe, it is correct to say now what Napoleon I. advanced a little prematurely, perhaps, some sixty years ago —in one of those beautiful documents in which, in admirable terms, he pleaded the cause of peace, though a belligerent at the time—that every European war is a civil war; but it is yet still more true, when spoken of conflicts between Latin nations, or between one of them and France. It is by the care of France especially, that the bundle of Latin nations is able to remain firmly linked together, for the interest of each of them. So also, in virtue of that law of reciprocity that is almost always observable in human affairs, the consolidation and development of the Latin nations is the very condition of the authority of France.

France possesses great resources. She has a powerful genius; generous principles are inscribed on her flag; she has noble traditions, to which she loves to remain faithful, and which are a strength to her as well as an obligation. She excels in letters, in sciences, and in the arts.

Her industry is more and more productive, and her agriculture has a field of inexhaustible riches. Her arms are formidable and dreaded afar. But if the Latin nations were effaced from the scene of the world, France would find herself in that irremediable weakness that is brought on by isolation. She would be like a general without an army, almost like a head without a body.

Thus, it is important to France, it is to her strict interest, that Spain should be a nation full of life, solidly constituted, abundantly provided with resources, capable of the initiative, and, in brief, in a condition to make her weight felt in the balance of the world; that it should be the same with Italy; that to the extent the diminutiveness of her territory permits, Portugal should revive again to important destinies; that Belgium, so industrious, so liberal, and so wise—save when she is spending her money in fortifying Antwerp—should remain flourishing; and that the States founded in the New World with Spanish and Portuguese materials, should grow in intellectual and moral culture, in wealth and in population, instead of being eaten up by the anarchy that has been wasting almost all of them since they consummated their independence. In this point of view, the Emperor

Napoleon III. did an act of excellent policy when, coming to the aid of Spain, he demanded that she should be classed among the great Powers of Europe. It is not merely the reminiscence of her past splendour that authorizes Spain to aspire to that rank; she is entitled to claim it by the progress she has proved herself capable of accomplishing since she has freed herself from the mischief-working restraint of absolute power. Henry IV. and Richelieu showed themselves to be masters of politics when they shook and lessened the power of Spain, which had menaced France too much; it was the course that suited their time. If they were to return to the world to-morrow, their genius would proceed differently, and would apply itself to the raising of Spain. In the same point of view, it is impossible not to acknowledge that the assistance given to Italy with such resolution, and so apropos, in 1859, in order that she might free herself from the yoke of Austria, and that the impulse by favour of which that beautiful country has already nearly accomplished her unity, emanated from a policy full of greatness, and from a lofty foresight. France, flanked by two peninsulas, thus strengthened and united to each other by the bonds of reciprocal sympathy,

and by a thousand common tendencies, by similarities of language, habits, and ideas, and, above all, by community of religion, will, for their good as for her own, and for that of the entire world, conserve an influence of the first order.

In thus pointing to the necessity, to French policy, of raising up the States peopled by Latin races, I am far from excluding the English alliance; the latter ought, on the contrary, to be considered as henceforth essential to France. The good concord of the two most powerful nations on the globe is now the very condition of general peace and the progress of civilization. To each of them it is the pledge of perfect security, the solid guarantee of the maintenance of its own authority. The effective concord of the two Cabinets of Paris and London, the community of their views on the principal events and the general march of affairs, their determination—more manifest than it has pleased Lord Palmerston it should be for the last few years—to exercise a common action in the most important circumstances, would be of inappreciable benefit to the human race. Still there may exist somewhat of greater intimacy in the political relations of France with the two Penin-

sulas, and the alliance with them should have the character of a family pact. Both England and France have an individuality at once too energetic and too distinct for it to be possible for them to be engaged and bound together in the same degree as would be suitable between Spain and France, or between France and Italy. Lastly, we present ourselves more advantageously to the English alliance itself, if we are closely united to Spain and Italy, both strongly constituted, if we are entitled to call ourselves the organ of the Latin races of Europe and the entire world, and if the States of that origin are themselves well organized and marching with a firm step in the path of progress.

But, when we look at the map of the world, and compare the space occupied thereon by the Catholic, and especially the Latin nations, at an interval of about two centuries back, with that on which the dissident Christian nations—the Protestants of different communions, and the Greeks—have seated and firmly entrenched themselves with the great attributes of power and civilization, we are struck with all that the former have lost, and with what the others have gained, and are day by day gaining. We have reason for consternation when we take our point

of view from the position of the interests of the Latin races, and of their relative share in the possession of this planet, as the common domain of the human race. We are confirmed in this painful feeling when we appeal to statistics as to the progress of the different States in population and wealth. The Catholic nations, the Latin even more than the others, seem threatened with submergence under a sea that is ever rising.

Two hundred years ago Russia was a barbarous country, not taken into calculations on the political balance of the world: now it is an empire peopled by seventy-four millions of inhabitants,* among whom the spirit of civilization circulates and diffuses its benefits. The Sovereign reigning there at the present day has abjured the policy of brutal despotism with which his father had so greatly deceived himself, and had for a series of years passed off an illusion on all Europe. For that system of severity, which produced only a colossus with feet of clay, the Emperor Alexander II., better inspired, has substituted a kindly, enlightened, and liberal policy,

* The kingdom of Poland, conquered by but not assimilated to Russia, has 4,800,000 inhabitants. Russia has then about 70,000,000 of souls, without the former.

that will change Russia into one of the most really potent empires that has ever existed. It will develope or arouse true civilization from the banks of the Niemen to the mouth of the River Amoor. There is not in Europe a country where the population increases more rapidly; and the other elements of the prosperity of States progress there at an accelerated pace.

Two hundred years ago, Spain, though on the decline, was still one of the Great Powers of Europe, whilst Prussia, not yet erected into a kingdom, was in the rank of subalterns. In the present day, Spain is driven to sue for re-admission into the aristocracy of States, and Prussia is universally recognised as one of the members of the European pentarchy. It surpasses Spain in population;* it surpasses it still more in industry, and in acquisitions of all kinds. The ecclesiastical, and consequently Catholic, principalities on the banks of the Rhine, have been overthrown; and the flag of Protestant Prussia floats in the place of that of the old Prince-Bishops.

The Turkish empire is on the point of falling to pieces. It disappoints the efforts of diplomacy,

* The population of Prussia increases rapidly. It is now nearly 19,000,000; that of Spain is only 16,000,000.

which is anxious to perpetuate it. It is like a lamp in which there is no more oil; the Ottoman population is dying out. Several Christian States will replace the empire of the Crescent; but Catholics are but in a minority in those countries; the Christian States that will be there constituted are devoted beforehand to the Greek religion.

But it is out of Europe that the progress of non-Catholic powers and the relative retrogression of States belonging to Catholicity are most manifest. And, in the first place, in America there has appeared, inspired by the genius of Protestantism, a great nation, which two centuries ago, divided into several colonies, was only a modest dependency of England. Its population did not then reach a million. That nation is the United States, for which the crisis it is now passing through, however grievous it may be, is, however, but the point of departure to further progress. The population of the United States has been developing itself for three quarters of a century with extraordinary power. The area over which civilization is there extended is increasing in a proportion not less remarkable; and there is thus forming an agglomeration of civilized men that from its numbers,

its virile qualities, and its immense resources, cannot fail to tell with a great weight on the balance of the world. The total of the population of the United States was, in 1790, something less than four millions, of whom seven hundred thousand were slaves; in 1860, it amounted to thirty-one millions and a half, of whom about four millions were slaves.* Immigration has contributed a share to this enormous augmentation; but the dominant cause is the natural propagation of the species amid the favourable circumstances in which it is placed, and for which it is in great part indebted only to itself. The moment the war is over, whose fury, bursting out on the sudden like a hurricane, has interrupted the course of the prosperity of this great country, the human species will again set itself to multiply as before; and from that date population must there attain, in a tolerably limited period, a number in comparison with which that of the great European States will be but moderate. Mr. Kennedy has calculated what may be the population of the United States at the end of the present century; that is, in thirty-seven years, barely the average existence

* The exact figures are 31,343,000, and 3,954,000.

of a generation. He found that, supposing a continuation of the annual increase of three per cent., which has been maintained up to this day, and even surpassed, the United States would then exceed a hundred million of souls. If the population of France does not multiply more rapidly than it has for the last dozen years, she will then have barely forty millions.

It is not at all impossible but that the American Union may, at that epoch and before, be partitioned into three or four empires; yet the area it occupies is so great, that each might have four or five times the territory of France. There would then be a group of States strong enough to counterbalance Europe.

The British America of the continent, whose extent is so considerable, seems destined to constitute several States—two at least, one on each ocean. It is being peopled and organized with vigour. Here is the place to make an observation that applies also to the United States. British America presents a notable proportion of Catholics. In Lower Canada they are French; in Upper Canada Irish. Nevertheless, the spirit of Roman Catholicism appears to have no chance of prevailing there. The Court of Rome will not find adherents there to the political system

it patronises, in which liberalism has no place, and under which peoples and individuals would have to submit to the yoke of a perpetual minority; it is not there that it can essay to carry out with success those ideas of religious intolerance, of which it holds it a duty to remain the representative and immovable personification. In religion, as in politics and in civil relations, it is liberty that bears sway in those societies, and the genius of Protestantism that directs their march.

Throughout the whole extent of both Americas we perceive but two agglomerations that are growing stronger: the one, possessing a territory almost unlimited, is the empire of Brazil; the other, reduced to an island of moderate extent, and only a colony, is Cuba. Far be from me the idea of depreciating Brazil; it is governed honestly and liberally; it has made its name respected in the civilized world; and European colonists begin to flock thither. Brazil is in the way of becoming a power. Unfortunately, it carries a great vice in its social organization—society there has for its foundation Black slavery, and, sooner or later, that will be to it a source of immense embarrassment. The day is past when society can repose firmly on such

a basis. Whatever complaisance one may bring to the task, we cannot find in Brazil, for the Catholic and Latin world, an equivalent to what the United States are for the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon world. It has yet but eight millions of inhabitants of all colours. As regards the island of Cuba, it is the most flourishing in the West Indies. Its progress in population and wealth is most remarkable. It has attained to more than twelve hundred thousand souls. But in Cuba, also, slavery is held in honour; and the slave-trade is no stranger to the increase in its population. It must be remarked, also, that it seems written the United States will profit by the first mishap which befalls Spain to make themselves masters of the island.*

Let the reader now carry his regards to the

* The island of Cuba has had the good fortune to meet with a writer of the most various knowledge and of indefatigable ardour, who has devoted himself to its description in every point of view. I refer to M. Ramon de la Sagra. He has made it the topic of a great work, accompanied by a descriptive atlas, under the title of "Historia Fisica, Economico-Politica, Intelectual y Moral, de la Isla de Cuba." This is one of the best scientific publications we owe to Spain. The work bears the date of 1842; but the author has added supplements to it, and notably a considerable one, under the date of 1860.

Pacific Ocean. He will there see magnificent colonies being constituted, with every character of strength, on lands uninhabited a while ago. But to what people do they belong? From what stock do they come, and what is the spirit that animates them? Not one of them meriting the honour of being named is the offshoot of a Catholic nation. That vast Australia, which will some day form several States, and which is already divided into six distinct Governments, is essentially English, and the tendencies dear to the Court of Rome are absent. It would not be prudent to go there and teach even to the Catholics that liberal institutions are inventions of the Evil Spirit, that the genius of liberty is the genius of perdition, and that the temporal power ought to consider it a first duty to ensure the authority of the Roman Church. On the contrary, all the tendencies Protestantism has aroused dominate there unchecked, and the Protestant population is in possession of the ascendant. New Zealand, to which also a fine future seems to be reserved, presents the same characteristics as the Australian provinces. The beautiful isle of Ceylon is under the English law. Of the colonies constituted long since, Java, which, like Ceylon, reckons a numerous

native population, and where, still more than in Ceylon, the European population is an exception, belongs to the Dutch, a Calvinistic people.

The Philippines, it is true, belong to Catholic Spain. A mighty use could be made of them; but under their actual *régime*, that magnificent archipelago is far from becoming what Java is to the Dutch, or Ceylon, governed by the Anglo-Saxon race, or even the island of Cuba, over which waves the same Spanish flag.

Besides these colonies, the Pacific Ocean bathes immense empires, that go back to the farthest antiquity, and which, at the present day, are still the first in the world, not from advancement in arts, sciences, and industry, nor from moral strength, but at least in number of population: these are India and China. Formerly, Catholic France was the energetic competitor of Protestant England in India; but the French are nothing there now, and the English are everything. The French Government has made vigorous and intelligent efforts in China, to the end that its influence should be thoroughly apparent in that quarter; but the commerce of France has not yet exhibited itself there in the track of her soldiers. It is England and North

America that are in the commercial ascendant there, and take the lead in business.

This comparative exhibit of the progress of Catholic States and those of the Christian peoples that profess other tenets, is of a nature to inspire gloomy reflections in those statesmen who, not without reason, consider that the destinies of France, and the greatness of her authority, are dependent on the chances of the future of the Catholic States in general, and of the Latin races in particular. It is the most powerful argument that can possibly be put forward in support of the expedition to Mexico.*

* This motive is indicated with great force in the letter the Emperor of the French addressed to General Forey, when that military leader went to take the command of the expedition.

CHAPTER IV.

MILITARY DIFFICULTIES OF THE EXPEDITION.

THE difficulties to be foreseen are of two kinds: there are the military difficulties the army encounters, and will continue to encounter, in its march on Mexico, and in the occupation of the principal points of the country. There are the political difficulties that are at all times consequent on the presence of foreign troops, on the appeal from them for the formation of a new Government, and on their assistance to uphold it.

A Frenchman may say, without exposing himself on that account to the accusation of being blinded by his patriotism, that the military operations are in themselves sure of success. The quality of the French troops, the superiority of their arms, their excellent administrative

organization, their discipline, the talent and experience of their leaders, seem to permit no doubt as to the issue of the combats they may engage in to the very close of the campaign. The French army will traverse all the dangerous passes just as the North Americans cleared them. It will take Puebla and Mexico as did the intrepid soldiers led by Taylor and W. Scott. It will gain possession of Guanaxuato, Acapulco, Oaxaca, Morelia,* and even of Guadalaxara and Durango, supposing it necessary to pursue so far the Government of Juarez, obstinate in not treating. Military success is in this case mainly an affair of expense: and the Imperial Government, however unpleasant it may be to compromise the equilibrium of the Budget, is thoroughly determined on not sparing money to terminate to the advantage of France an enterprise in which the honour of her arms is engaged.

One of the great embarrassments for an army invading a vast country with a thinly-scattered population, like Mexico, is to ensure its own subsistence. States in that condition defend

* The name given to the ancient city of Valladolid, in honour of Morelos.

themselves against an invader by the very disadvantages of their own fashion of existence. They oppose to the enemy length of distances, want of cultivation, and even the devastation of their territory. They try to starve him by destroying, as far as possible, the crops lying along his route, by burning the villages and breaking the mill-stones. They thus drive him to endless convoys of waggons, that entail enormous expenditure. Difficulties of this kind arrested the steps of the French army, and deferred the movement in advance more than could have been wished by the impatience of the public, who do not always reason. The general-in-chief would have acted without consideration, unless he had assured himself of supplies and means of transport. But when once the French army has reached Puebla—even before it has obtained possession of that city, should it oppose a serious resistance—it will have supplies at discretion, because it will be in a province fertile in produce, and where provisions are to be found in abundance. Except as to the liquids, they are almost the same as the soldiers would consume in France—wheaten bread, maize, excellent beans, and beef and mutton. Besides, the army is strong enough to guard the road from Puebla

to Orizaba or Xalapa, and from thence to Vera Cruz. Whilst I write these lines, the French army must be before Puebla, if not within the city. If so, the difficulty of subsistence may probably be considered as surmounted.

The most formidable adversary that our valiant soldiers may have to meet with in their path is the yellow fever. But if that disease is formidable, it at least ceases its ravages at a short distance from the sea-shore. To combat that scourge, the French Government have decided on simultaneously employing two means, each having its peculiar efficacy. One is the construction of a railway, by which the troops, as soon as landed at Vera Cruz, would clear the infected district in a few hours, and be transported to Orizaba, where they would breathe an air perfectly pure. The other, is to make use of Black soldiers for the occupation of Vera Cruz, and its citadel, the Castle of San Juan de Ulua. They might be drawn from our neighbouring colonies of Martinique and Guadaloupe, and might be borrowed also from the Viceroy of Egypt, for whom it would be an honour to mingle his troops with those of France. It is known that the Black race are privileged to brave the miasma as well as the ardent beams of the sun in equi-

noctial regions. Old Spain had often entertained the design of composing the garrison of Vera Cruz of Black regiments. But with the rusty wheels of that Government every movement towards good was difficult, and this humane idea was not carried into execution.

The railroad from Vera Cruz to Orizaba would render another service to the expedition, by ensuring its communications with Vera Cruz, from whence must necessarily come reinforcements, ammunition, and *matériel*, and through which place also would arrive a portion of the supplies —all that could not be obtained from the country itself. The saving that, thanks to the railway, would be realized on the cost of transport, would soon cover the outlay in construction. Besides, rapidity and safety of communication, and facility of putting itself in connexion with the base of operations, are to an army advantages of inestimable value

If the occupation should be prolonged, there is another work the French will find reason to undertake—the sanitary improvement and drainage of Vera Cruz. The violence with which the *vomito* makes its appearance there, turning the city into one of the most dangerous places of residence there can be on the earth to the European, or

even to the inhabitant of the Mexican mountain-plain, depends on causes that appear to be sufficiently known, and were the object of sufficiently close inquiry during the period of the Spanish dominion. The main one is the existence all round the town of a belt of marsh, in which a large quantity of vegetable and even animal matter passes into putrefaction during the hot season; another is the bad quality of the water used for domestic purposes.

The marshes that girdle the town of Vera Cruz, particularly to the east and south, are not extensive. Along the sea-shore, downs (*mejanos*) —like those to be found in Europe, especially in France, in the departments of the Gironde and the Landes, composed of the same fine sand, which is shifted by the extreme violence of the winds from the north—intercept the course of the rivulets, and render their waters stagnant. Probably it would not be impossible to fix these sands by processes similar to those Brémontier has introduced into France with great success, creating, on the coast of the departments on the Gulf of Gascony, a source of wealth now turned to advantage by the Administration of the Forests. By fixing these sands and restoring to them vegetation, the excessive temperature of

the environs of Vera Cruz would be diminished; and that excess of heat has much to do with the virulence of the *vomito*. It is an observed fact, that the higher the elevation of the temperature of the season, the greater the number of victims to the malady. It would be still more practicable, by means of works executed once for all, and permanently kept up, to restore to the waters of these rivulets, now choked up by the *mejanos*, their free passage to the sea, which would put an end to the very existence of the marshes. The space they cover being very restricted, the undertaking to drain them cannot be considered very arduous. To map the topography of the ground, to draw plans and carry them into execution, would be to the officers of the French engineers and staff simply one of those labours for which their activity, their skill, and their patriotism are always ready. The season possessed of relative salubrity is sufficiently long each year for the preparatory operations on the site, and even for the accomplishment of the works, to occupy but a very small number of months annually—far less time than the French will have to pass in Mexico, unless they abandon the design of constituting a stable Government there.

The quality of the water ordinarily drank at

Vera Cruz is very bad, because it is vitiated by a mixture with that of the marshes. Wealthy persons have cisterns in their houses, in which they collect a portion of the water, that, between the tropics, on the eastern side of the American Continent, falls from the heavens in great quantities during the rainy season. The cistern-water is much better than that of the brooks; but it requires that the cisterns should be well built and kept in good order, which does not appear to be always the case at Vera Cruz. The garrison of the Castle of San Juan de Ulua enjoy the benefit of magnificent cisterns of perfect construction, situated within the fort, and the water of which formerly left nothing to be desired. The necessity of providing the inhabitants of Vera Cruz with pure drinking-water was long ago pointed out and recognised. Plans were made in the time of Philip V., and the works—very ill-designed, it is true—were begun for bringing into the town unobjectionable water. Considerable sums were spent in the most fruitless fashion. The visits of experts and judicial costs, for everything degenerated into a law process under the Spanish sway, had, by the end of the eighteenth century, absorbed nearly 100,000*l*. Under the pretext of the waters that

were to be furnished to the town, the Royal Treasury levied a special duty on flour amounting to 6000*l.* a year, and the work progressed none the more. It was proved, however, sixty years since, that to supply the town with water from the River Xamapa would cost but 200,000*l.* or 240,000*l.*, and that there might also be provided ten spacious cisterns sufficient for the population, though then much more numerous than now, for the small sum of 28,000*l.*

Great nations know how, even amid the horrors and devastations entailed by war, to give evidence of their superiority in the useful arts, and to demonstrate the fecundity of their power. During their immortal campaigns the Romans built entrenched camps, the vestiges of which still subsist, and strike posterity with admiration; they laid out roads that have preserved their name and perpetuated their glory; they threw bridges across rivers, even where most rapid or most majestic, the piles of which may still be seen standing, in various places—on the Lower Danube, for instance. I could wish for my own country that her flag should leave in Mexico similar traces of its passage, by means of the works I have just referred to, or others of a similar kind. Our own interest so counsels;

for what greater anxiety can France have, feeling as she does such a legitimate sentiment of affection for her army, than to hinder the ravages of yellow fever from being added to the chances of a distant war?

In this point of view, to maintain the renown of our country, it is desirable that the French expedition to Mexico should, as soon as it can, be accompanied by a scientific exploration of that vast country, where everything is marked by a peculiar stamp. What would be left to us, what would be left to the civilized world, of our expedition to Egypt in 1798, if General Bonaparte, sensitive to the progress of human knowledge, and proud of his title of Member of the Institute,* had not taken with him a selection of illustrious men of science? There was even an Institute in Egypt, a branch or reflex of the great scientific body of France. With an indefatigable zeal, and, when necessary, with a display of courage worthy of the battalions with which they were associated, the eminent men, whom zeal for

* Several orders dated from Toulon, and the proclamation addressed from Alexandria to the people of Egypt, have the title of *Member of the National Institute* placed before that of General-in-Chief.

science and their attachment to the future arbiter of Europe had led to the banks of the Nile, collected immense materials. Thence sprang that noble work that displayed to the eyes of the whole world the magnificence of the ruins of Egypt. There also were made researches of every kind, by wondrous efforts of patience and sagacity. Among the acquisitions accomplished by the pains of these devoted men was the celebrated Rosetta stone, that the chances of war turned out of the road to France,* though, in the hands of our Champollion, it was none the less a talisman with which knowledge evoked treasures. A few years ago, when the expedition was organized that was to plant the flags of the two great Powers of Western Europe in the capital of the Celestial Empire, the great propriety of having science represented in it by a numerous and brilliant constellation was lost sight of. The useful work that would not fail to have been done by such a commission would have been a happy counterpoise to the burning of the Summer Palace. There was then neglected an excellent opportunity of augmenting

* It now figures in the British Museum in London.

our information, and probably of enriching our manufactures with new processes and agents.* Science, thus forgotten on the occasion of going to Pekin, has a claim for reparation; and we have the chance of offering it now that we are going to Mexico. The Emperor Napoleon III. cannot be insensible to the glory of renewing in one of the richest and most curious regions of the Western World the exploration which the founder of his dynasty organized so admirably for one of the countries of the East.

* I would not have it supposed that I am here forgetting the services rendered by a person well informed, and much to be commended for his zeal and courage, who accompanied the expedition to China. But what could one single person do? This sole representative of French science having fallen into the hands of the Chinese, his mission was from that cause barren of results. All danger of the kind would have been averted by a somewhat numerous scientific commission.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE EXPEDITION.

A FOREIGN army that invades a State with the avowed intention of imposing upon it sacrifices and giving it the law, is certain to excite therein more or less antipathy; otherwise patriotism would be but a vain word. In principle, and save under peculiar circumstances, there are strong reasons why that feeling should peculiarly manifest itself when the army in question announces the design of changing the institutions of the country. *Emigrés* alone can dream of a cordial welcome for the foreigner who presents himself arms in hand. The French *Emigrés* at Coblentz promised in 1792 to the Duke of Brunswick and the coalesced Sovereigns, that their troops would be received in France with open arms. History tells us what founda-

tion those promises had. It is under the influence of a similar illusion that some Mexicans —very honourable men be it said—have asserted in perfect good faith that our soldiers would be welcomed in Mexico as liberators by an eager and unanimous population.

It was to be anticipated, on the contrary, that the majority of a people like that of Mexico, among whom the feeling of national independence had been developed, as was proved by the events from 1810 to 1821, would offer resistance to the French expedition.

There are, however, degrees in resistance to a foreign army; and there was room to suppose that the French would not encounter in their path those ardent passions with which other peoples have been animated when they have been invaded, and to which, under other circumstances, or towards other invaders, the Mexicans had abandoned themselves, and might do so again.

France is not actuated towards Mexico by a notion of conquest, as were the United States in 1847, or as was the Spanish army of Barradas, in 1829. Thus, the independence of the Mexicans is not compromised, and the integrity of their territory is not menaced. If means be

found thoroughly to convince them of that, it is probable that their opposition to the French expedition will be without animosity, and that it will have little other object than to save the honour of their arms.

The devotion of the great majority of the Mexicans to their existing institutions cannot be warm; and all the information we possess authorizes us to say that it is less than moderate. They have proved them sufficiently to have established their inefficiency and their danger. Everything leads to the belief that the Mexicans would be unwilling to make indefinite sacrifices for the defence of their republican *régime*. It must have been demonstrated to them that the system was incapable of procuring for their fine country the elements most indispensable to social order and public prosperity. It is a nominal and delusive republic; for the essence of republican government is the reign of the law—in modern times, of a law made for the interest of all. But in Mexico there is law no longer. What reigns there is the caprice, the vanity, the ignorance, and the cupidity of a handful of military chiefs, each making in turn an ephemeral appearance in power, and treading under foot the interest of the greatest number.

There is even ground for supposing that all those of the Mexicans who reason desire the establishment of a monarchy, provided it be representative and liberal, and that it consecrates national independence. The course of events cannot but have strengthened the monarchical opinions that were manifested so often during the struggle for independence. The traditions that induced the striking success of the Plan of Iguala* are not lost; consequently, the project attributed to French policy of supporting the return of monarchy is not, as to its substance, of a nature to augment the resentment against our troops, and to envenom the war.

The peoples of modern times are more grateful for respect manifested towards persons and property than were the nations of antiquity. If the French army, observing the rigorous discipline to which it is accustomed, abstains from all insults to person and from exactions; if it pays scrupulously for supplies; if it avoids irritating the religious sentiments of the inhabitants; if, in a word, it behaves itself comformably to the disposition of the French character, and to the wishes ex-

* See *ante*, Part IV., chap. v., p. 59, of this volume.

pressed by the Imperial Government, the Mexicans cannot be long before entertaining towards it a milder feeling.

The unexpected withdrawal of the Spanish troops, that for a while disorganized the entire expedition, and drove France to the display of a much larger force than she had contemplated at the beginning, is a benefit rather than an injury to the political success of the expedition. The most vigorous element of Mexican patriotism is hatred to Spain. The Mexican has a marked antipathy for the North American, an ambitious neighbour, whose boundless encroachments he dreads; but he detests the Spanish nation infinitely more. A river of blood divides the Spaniards and Mexicans. Perhaps there does not exist in Mexico a single Creole, half-breed, or Indian family, which has not reason for recollecting that, during the War of Independence, Spanish commanders handed over to the executioner, or slaughtered on the field of battle, after a victory, some one of its members—a father, a son, a brother. The Spaniards, therefore, were very inconvenient auxiliaries to the expedition—more hurtful than useful. Their departure must, then, have averted a great deal of appre-

hension and mistrust, and have softened many antipathies.*

It does not seem, therefore, that there can be any great obstacles, either political or material, to the French army reaching Mexico, and maintaining itself all the time necessary for negotiating a treaty of peace that should regulate the amount of indemnity to be paid to Frenchmen who have been plundered, or to the families of persons who have been assassinated, and should stipulate for guarantees for payment—supposing there can be any solid ones apart from the presence of French troops. It is probable that,

* The author of this essay has no wish to have it supposed that in thus speaking of Spain he has any idea of lowering her, or of contesting to her the degree of influence on the course of events in the present day to which she aspires. He is one of those who gladly hail the new life exhibited by a nation formerly so powerful, in which a system of repression, at once political and religious, that might be thought to have been imitated from Asiatic despotism, had almost stifled every germ of greatness and progress. Spain, reverted to representative traditions and the paths of public liberty—Spain, more inclined to recognise liberty of worship than might have been fancied from the recent judgments of her tribunals—Spain, labouring actively to reconcile herself with modern civilization, has the sympathies of all liberal Europe. It is not the less true that here, in this special affair of the expedition to Mexico, the participation of Spain was an unfortunate idea.

for a brief space, this occupation might take place without its being necessary for the troops to gird themselves round with a system of rigour. It may even be hoped that, after the first days are over, good relations will be established between the French army and the population.

It is impossible for me not to remark that in the hypothesis in which I am now placing myself, that in which the expedition would confine itself to taking Mexico, and there, under the pressure of our victorious arms, negotiating a treaty of indemnity, and evacuating the country immediately afterwards, it is fifty to one but that anarchy and disorder would resume their sway in Mexico immediately after the last French vessel had left the anchorage of Vera Cruz. From that moment all that we might have had signed by the Mexican authorities would remain without effect. The Mexican treasury, emptier than ever, would not furnish the sums that would have been stipulated by the treaty, and all would end for France in the honour of having placed a few Mexican flags under the dome of the Invalides, save that we should have to pay our pence for our glory.

In the other hypothesis, that in which the French troops would have to prolong their

stay in Mexico, one of the best means they would have for rendering themselves popular would be to deliver the country from the warrior hordes of the Northern Indians. These savages, called Apaches and Comanches, and designated also by the name of *Indios Bravos*, have become excellent horsemen, for the horses introduced by the Spaniards have multiplied in the country.

After having annoyed the colonists during the seventeenth century, they were easily restrained, in the later period of the Spanish dominion, by means of troops distributed for that purpose at stations called *Presidios*, and, above all, by corps of cavalry composed of Mexicans, who evinced as much intelligence and activity as bravery. They were thus driven back into arid savannahs, similar to the steppes of Tartary. Six or seven thousand men were assigned to combat with them, or to watch them along a line of very great extent. But since the era of Independence this system of defence has been disorganized, and the savages have grown bolder. They have vengeances to exact for the ill-treatment they were formerly made to undergo, under the pretext of converting them, and they willingly take that cruel satisfaction which is particularly dear to uncivilized man. They have become more

formidable since they have learned to use the firearms with which they are supplied by the United States traders. Sixty years ago they were armed only with arrows and clubs.

Several of the States of the Mexican Confederation are kept in perpetual alarm by these bands of brutal horsemen. Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, and Cohahuila, are thus placed under a similar terror to that which the barbarians of Germany inspired in the Roman provinces bordering on the Rhine, in the later ages of the empire of the Cæsars. These savages plunder, lay waste, and massacre. Civilization disappears under the hoofs of their horses. It may be said, in the existing state of things, that to the north of the province of Zacatecas they are quite as much masters as the Government of Mexico. In superficies, nearly the half of the territory of the Republic is threatened with a fate similar, not to that endured by the Gauls at the hands of the Germans — since the latter were destined one day to make civilization again flourish—but to the lamentable lot that befel the African and Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire, which were invaded by the Mussulmans and definitively conquered by the Turks.

The French established in Mexico in the *status* of an army of occupation might render to that unhappy country the signal service of guaranteeing it from these devastating incursions. Bodies of mounted troops, of which the staff at least should be French, would succeed therein after a short time. The tribes of Indian warriors are not very numerous, and by acting in concert with the authorities of the United States—who are equally interested in suppressing their maraudings, since California, Texas, and New Mexico have been incorporated into the Union—it would appear they might very easily be brought to order. The French army of occupation would thus create for itself a positive title to the gratitude of the Mexicans. It must not be concealed, however, that the provinces or States situated to the south of the northern frontier of Zacatecas—and they are by far the best peopled and the richest—would derive no direct benefit from these efforts against the Indian savages, because those hordes of wild horsemen have not hitherto dared to venture on their territory. From the selfish isolation in which the fractions of Mexico live with respect to each other, it might well be that these southern regions of the Mexican empire would

bear the French no very deep gratitude for good offices in favour of their brethren in the north. The task ought, however, to be undertaken from the moment the French shall have resolved temporarily to occupy the country, in order to protect the Government established under the shadow of their flag. In that case it would be necessary to accomplish it fully, so that the populations might have a sufficient idea of the power of France and of its beneficent effects.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OCCUPATION THAT MAY SUCCEED THE PRESENT EXPEDITION.

Let us follow out the hypothesis on which we dwelt at the close of the preceding chapter—that according to which France would persevere in the design not only of inciting to, or at least of aiding in, a change in the system of government in Mexico, but also, by mounting guard round the sovereign that may be installed there, of guaranteeing the consolidation of the monarchical institutions from that time substituted for the sham republic at present existing. Should it be so, we shall find ourselves committed to quite a different task from the march to Mexico and the signature of a treaty of indemnity. The fulfilment of that undertaking would be of great interest; but it must not be concealed that it

would encounter a certain number of obstacles which it would take long to surmount. I speak here of obstacles that would arise from within the bosom of Mexico itself. I put on one side the opposition that may be eventually anticipated on the part of the United States: that has been spoken of before.

The first condition for founding a monarchy in Mexico is to have the monarch who can be placed on the throne with the goodwill of his future subjects. He can only be a Prince of one of the reigning houses of Europe, and it must also unhesitatingly be said—a Prince of one of the Catholic houses. France, by her own wish, stands out of the list. Spain seems to be put aside, from the ill-feelings left by the struggle for Independence; and the events that marked the first steps of the expedition do not appear likely to augment her chances. When the first French corps was put in motion, mention was made of a Prince who, though still very young, has attracted great esteem in Europe—the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria. We were assured that he was the candidate designed by France to inaugurate the Mexican crown. The Archduke has left an excellent

reputation in Italy, and that is a great recommendation. A year ago he had decided on assuming the weighty task of founding an Imperial dynasty in Mexico. We know not if he is still in the same disposition; he restricts himself to a reserve that is prudent and befitting. Let us reason on the supposition that, the French once in Mexico, he would consent to charge himself with the crown that might be offered to him by an assembly freely elected. The success of his Government would depend, above all, on himself; and the distinguished qualities which those who have had the honour to approach him proclaim him to be endowed with, authorize every hope in that regard.

Against this choice there is but one objection, which we shall freely advert to—the nationality of the Prince. The House of Austria, say its partisans, is quite naturally pointed out to the Mexicans; it has governed Spain with grandeur; it has left reminiscences of glory in the Peninsula that recommend it at this day to the peoples of New Spain. It is true the House of Austria gave to the Castilians Charles V., who, however, was rather Emperor of Germany than King of Spain, and who signalized his connexion with the Peninsula principally by the sanguinary

mutilation of its municipal liberties. But it also furnished the Peninsula with Philip II., one of the most detestable personages ever seated on a throne. Philip II. was tyranny incarnate, with all the traits that render it odious—cunning and dissimulation, cold-blooded cruelty, a taste for murder long premeditated and slowly accomplished. He was the Inquisition, with the *auto-da-fé* exalted into a public rejoicing—for one of those human sacrifices was then made an accessory to the celebration of some great event, just as we now open the theatres gratis or make a display of fireworks. Philip II. was the instigator of the ferocious Duke of Alva in all the horrors committed in the Low Countries; he was the executioner of his subjects, of his confidants, and of his own son. To the Spanish race Philip II. is the type of the House of Austria more than Charles V.; for, of all the kings sprung from that House, he was the one that impressed his stamp upon Spain the deepest. He established despotism there to the full, both political and religious, and moulded it into a tradition, linking the Peninsula to it by chains so strong that the deadly *régime* has outlived him two centuries. The Government of the Bourbons in Spain was beneath mediocrity; but that of

the House of Austria was worse. The House of Austria succeeded to a Spain that was flourishing and invested with great power, and left it fallen. The title of Austrian Prince might therefore be in the eyes of the Mexicans but a bad recommendation. Neither must we lose sight of the fact that there exists an incompatibility of character between the Germans and the Latin races, of which latter the influential classes in Mexico are scions, and reflectors of its genius. The Austrians, more than other Germans, are, from discordance of temperament, inclined to oppress the Latin races rather than to conciliate them. Italy has, in our own times, offered a too manifest proof of this. The Archduke himself must be well-informed on that point, and his own observations must speak commendingly to his judgment.

In lieu, then, of assisting him, the family origin of the Archduke Maximilian would create him embarrassments. The difficulties of his situation in Mexico would be insurmountable were he, as at Milan, to be guarded by an army of Austrians, and surrounded with *Tedeschi* functionaries, faithful to the habits of the Austrian bureaucracy, receiving, or suspected of receiving, the countersign from Vienna. But happily for him,

Austria is scarcely in a position to lend him soldiers. As regards administrators, she has need of retaining for her own use all the good ones she has. She has employment for them at home in the laborious task of political, financial, and administrative organization to which she is now so honourably applying herself. To succeed in Mexico, the Archduke ought to leave Vienna for Vera Cruz, alone, with his portfolio under his arm.

But then the following question will immediately present itself — The Prince enthroned will have need, for a certain lapse of time, of some degree of military assistance, for if he were left without support amid the absolute disorganization presented by the State, the chief of the new empire would be at the mercy of intrigue and haphazard, and his throne would not be standing six months. What should this foreign corps be that would have to watch around the new throne? I mean, who should furnish it? Unfortunately, it is evident that it could be France alone. The army that may have overthrown the existing Government and taken Mexico, seems called on to become the corps of occupation, the auxiliary of the emperor and the empire of Mexico.

But an army of occupation for Mexico cannot be reduced to a few thousand men, like the corps France generally keeps at Rome. In lieu of a microscopic territory, it would have to watch over a territory nearly three times and a half the size of France, offering amid mountains impenetrable asylums to insurgents assembling for the purpose of revolution, or compelled to fly after a defeat. It is true that after a tolerably brief delay there would be a national army, but its fidelity would not be perfectly ensured till some years of trial had passed; for the habit of military insurrection has become endemic in that unfortunate country. *Pronunciamentos** are there the daily bread of politics, and inveterate customs are not easily shaken off. Thus, then, supposing that there should be in Mexico an enlightened prince like the Archduke Maximilian, surrounded by an intelligent and upright administration—the elements of which it would not be easy to discover and get together—France would have to make up her mind to leave in Mexico, for some considerable time, a large army, the numbers of which I will not

* Revolutions are so frequent in Mexico, that a special vocabulary has been created for them, as for a regular profession. The *pronunciamento* is the act itself of insurrection; the *plan* is the programme of it.

pretend to name, but which should be at least 20,000 men, and might, perhaps, require to be double that. To refuse that, would be to expose to immediate overthrow the throne erected with so much pains, and to devote to inevitable abortion the plan formed for averting the degradation of the Latin races in the New World.

It would be a dangerous clog on the policy of France thus to have a portion of its force paralyzed or alienated at so great a distance beyond sea. Moreover, the consideration of the expense must not be lost sight of. France has many improvements to carry out on her own territory. She ought to show herself careful of her resources, when the interest in question is foreign to her, or such, at least, as many persons hold to be so. To pay for the maintenance of a considerable corps stationed at Mexico, for eight or ten years perhaps, would be little to the taste of the Corps Législatif, whose constituents urge upon them in the most pressing terms to have roads cut for them, to construct railways, and to open schools. The maintenance of a numerous expeditionary corps at Mexico for an indefinite period, would probably not have the sanction of the Elective Chamber unless Mexico itself defrayed the cost.

Now, what is the measure of the possible in that respect?

It is a question surrounded with a good deal of mist, that of knowing within what delay Mexico, supposing it governed and administered for the best, would be in a state to furnish the pay and keep of a corps of occupation so numerous. The event alone could determine. All that I can do here is to present a few of the materials of evidence, and to lay on the table some of the papers in the case.

A document of interest is the Mexican Budget of receipts and expenditure during the latter part of the Spanish sway.

In 1803, the revenue amounted to 20,200,000 piastres, which at 5 francs 43 centimes each, would make 109,686,000 francs* (4,387,440*l.*). In 1712, it was but 3,086,400 piastres, but it had increased continuously since then.

This revenue came from somewhat varied sources. The export of metals and the mint payed duties that returned 5,500,000 piastres. The *alcavala*, or duty on commodities, was productive; it yielded about

* The piastre, or *peso*, a piece of silver, contained the same quantity of pure metal as would yield the sum of 5 fr. 43 c. in French silver money.

3,000,000 of piastres; the Indian capitation-tax produced more than 1,200,000. There was a duty on *pulque*, or the juice of the maguey, that produced a net sum of 800,000 piastres, and one on playing-cards that reached to 120,000 piastres. The tax on cock-fights was good for 45,000 piastres. Tobacco yielded nearly 8,000,000 piastres in the gross, and 4,500,000 net. The sale of gunpowder for the mines produced about 150,000 piastres, which was very moderate. The profit accruing to the Mexican Treasury from the sale of mercury was about fourfold. A tax on the sale of Indulgences, which one is surprised to meet with in the nineteenth century, and one on ecclesiastical benefices, went for something; the produce of the one was 270,000 piastres, of the other, 100,000, There was no land-tax, properly speaking. The *almoxarifazco*, or customs, furnished 500,000 piastres; the post-office, 250,000; stamps, 80,000.

This abstract takes no note of the cost of collection, as regards the majority of the duties, because they were farmed. To be brief, that cost was excessive. Humboldt estimates it at more than 6,000,000 piastres.

The expenditure was much below the receipts. It results from communications received by

Humboldt from the Viceroy Iturrigaray, that the civil and military administration of the country cost in 1803 but 10,500,000 piastres.* Of the rest of the revenue, 3,500,000 were used in remittances to other colonies that were deficient. A balance of about 6,000,000 piastres went into the treasury of the King of Spain, at Madrid.

This charge of 10,500,000 piastres was distributed as follows :—

Military expenses	4,000,000
Salaries of Viceroy, Intendants, and civil and financial servants	2,000,000
Administration of Justice . .	300,000
Prisons and hospitals	400,000
Various expenses, the establishment at the mint, advances recoverable from the tobacco department, maintenance of the public buildings, pensions	3,800,000
Total	10,500,000

The financial situation was therefore very

* There were, however, superfluous expenses even here. Thus, Humboldt mentions the Fort of Perote, which cost 40,000*l.* to keep it up, and was of no service.

prosperous; but it has changed greatly since the Independence. It is no longer the budget of receipts that is in excess, but that of expenditure. Deficiency is the permanent rule of the country. The Treasury lives on expedients, and they are at times most deplorable ones. Not only was there handed over to the Americans, by a forced sale, at the end of the war, superb territories like California—of which, to say the truth, no use was made—but, beyond that, Governments in difficulties ceded large tracts to the same neighbours for insignificant sums. Thus, for example, at the end of the war of 1847, after California and New Mexico had been abandoned for 15,000,000 piastres, 500,000 of which were retained by the Cabinet of Washington to cover real or pretended damage suffered by citizens of the Great Republic, the territory of Mesilla was specially sold for 10,000,000 piastres, which were reduced to 7,000,000 by the same process.* The Mexican

* Mr. Lempriere gives instances of the exaggeration of these demands from American citizens. One of them, from whom had been taken thirty or forty *fanegas* of maize, worth fifty or sixty piastres, demanded a compensation of 1,300,000 piastres. The sum is not yet paid, but the affair is going on. The inflation of the Jecker claim, which so excited the public in France, is far less scandalous than this.

Government issues bills, which are instantly depreciated to a great discount. Independently of the floating debt resulting from these issues, there is a consolidated debt, corresponding to the loans negotiated in Europe. The total of the debt is 120,000,000 piastres, about 52,000,000 of which are consolidated.

A very recent publication from an English traveller, Mr. Lempriere, gives the actual amount of the receipts in piastres as follows:—

Customs duties, import and export	8,000,000
Excise duties	3,500,000
Land-tax	1,500,000
Various taxes, the lottery, mints, tobacco	3,000,000
	16,000,000

With regard to the expenditure, the information we have is still more summary. In 1856, which is the last estimate on which we have reliable information, it amounted to 17,405,000 piastres, of which the war budget absorbed nearly the half—7,739,000 piastres. A nearly equal sum (7,711,000 piastres) was swallowed up by the administration of finances, including

the demands of the public debt. There remained something less than 2,000,000 piastres for the entire of the other civil services, administration, justice, public instruction, and foreign relations.

A portion of the public revenue is illegally retained by the provinces, reconstituted into sovereign States by the Federalist constitution of 1857.

There is reason to believe that, without raising the customs-duties, but even reducing them, the product of that branch of taxation might be greatly augmented. Smuggling is effected openly on the largest scale, and often with the complicity of the agents of the revenue. A great deal more, also, might be got from the tobacco-duty than it produces at present, and quite as much at least as it produced under the colonial *régime*. It would be possible to demand more from the registration and stamp-duties, and also from the duty on gunpowder for mining. In general there is an elasticity in the yield of public taxation that turns to the profit of wise and intelligent Governments. Let Mexico be tolerably governed, and let authority be established there on solid bases, leaving to individuals the liberty of action which is the stamp of modern civilization, and

the common *desideratum* to all peoples that are suffering, and we shall soon see man's industry multiplying there the material for taxation; and without pressing heavily on the taxpayer, a great deal more will then be obtained easily than is now wrung from him with difficulty.

It seems to me impossible, in the future financial arrangements of Mexico, that there should be no attempt to make the best use for the public profit of the former property of the clergy, which the law has turned over to the State. It is not inapropos to remind the reader that the idea of turning this to the benefit of the State had been carried into practice in Mexico, to a certain extent, a little before the War of Independence, when the authority of the kings of Spain appeared to be seated there on an unshakeable basis. It was the moveable property of the clergy that the Government of the mother-country resolved, at that period, to lay hands on; and they did so to an amount of 10,656,000 piastres (nearly 2,320,000*l.*) It is true, that the Government at Madrid gave in exchange for this property stock analogous to that of the public debt, that is, bearing interest. So that, properly speaking, the State then confined itself to imposing an exchange, in which it was sup-

posed to give an equivalent for what it took; whilst the Government of Republican Mexico, like the French Constituent Assembly of 1789, declared itself the proprietor of the territorial possessions of the clergy, with divers reserves in favour of priests employed in parochial duties, and of the monks and nuns in the convents.

It appears that the disposal of the clergy-lands, which the law empowers the State to effect, is very far from being completely consummated. To sell them is exceedingly difficult in a country where civil war and anarchy have exhausted capital. There still remains, therefore, a very large amount to be disposed of. According to some persons, there are lands for sale of the value of 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 piastres (53,000,000*l.* to 65,000,000*l.* sterling.)* Order once established in the country, if it be possible, that would be a large basis for operation in the hands of skilful financiers, supposing even that it be needful to reduce by one half the estimate I have just cited.

To establish the assessment and collection of the taxes on a good footing, Mexico wants administrators who shall be not only upright, but

* See "Notes on Mexico," by Mr. Lempriere, p. 223.

capable, and familiar with the doctrines and practice of the great States of Europe. Unfortunately, this is a class of men of whom the country is totally destitute. Under the colonial *régime*, Mexicans, even of the White race, were, as we have seen, strictly kept aloof from office. When Independence had been established, the greater part of the Spaniards occupying public functions were replaced by Creoles, and then exiled. To carry on the affairs of the country there were left only individuals who were not deficient in good intentions, but who were far inferior to the Spaniards, though the latter left a great deal to be desired. Dating from the moment of Independence, these functionaries showed themselves to be complete strangers to the art of administration, and they had no means of learning it within their reach. Mexico has remained till now under this dearth of administrators. Foreigners, who might have carried thither good methods and sound doctrines, both administrative and financial, have not been encouraged to naturalize themselves, and still less to enter into the public service. They have been systematically mistrusted; and capable men from abroad have had little temptation to go and offer their services to a Govern-

ment without stability, and a country wasted by anarchy. This absence of men versed in the practice of administration and in the art of managing the finances, is an evil for Mexico of which the end can scarcely be seen, if the country is abandoned to its own sole resources.

Neither must it be lost sight of, that if France occupies Mexico with the view of establishing there a regular and stable Government, and with the intention so to act that it shall be not only tolerated but liked by the population, she must not take to herself the produce of the taxes to provide for the wants of the army of occupation, to such a degree as to compromise the administration of the country, and to deprive the Government of the means of realizing some of those improvements looked for by civilized people. In that respect, everything has to be done in Mexico. It is a country that has no roads, and where, *à fortiori*, railways are not in existence. Schools of all kinds are wanting. The public buildings are falling into ruins. In a certain measure, the establishment or restoration of these instruments of civilization must rank before the maintenance and pay of the French troops; otherwise, the political enterprise of raising up the country, undertaken by France, cannot but meet with failure.

It is true that, when Mexico is tolerably constituted, and capitalists see that she is placed under the ægis of France, there is room to believe that the Mexican Government would not appeal in vain to credit; and that source might be drawn upon for extraordinary expenditure, such as would be the sustenance and pay of the French troops.

One conclusion springs from the preceding, which is, that it is not impossible for Mexico to succeed, after a certain time, in getting a revenue that may not only suffice to cover the cost of her administration, but also to defray the expense of an auxiliary French corps. That, however, might not be till after a delay of several years, and with the aid of intelligent and persistent efforts, attended by good fortune. Provisionally, until the moment when the enlightened and disinterested assistance of France shall have re-established among capitalists the credit of the Mexican Treasury, that country must resign herself to make an advance of the entire outlay for her soldiers encamped so far off, and for the fleet destined to serve them as a centre of support.

But the organization of regular and stable order in Mexico has to encounter other difficulties

of a nature entirely different to those we have just indicated; and I hesitate not to say, these other difficulties are the most serious of all. A rapid examination of them will be the purpose of the eighth and last part of this essay.

PART VIII.

ON THE ATTEMPT TO REGENERATE MEXICO, CONSIDERED IN CONNEXION WITH THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE COURT OF ROME TOWARDS MODERN CIVILIZATION.

CHAPTER I.

GLANCE AT THE PAST—IMMINENT DANGER OF THE PRESENT.

The definitive and complete success of the French expedition to Mexico, by which I mean the consolidation of political and social order in that unfortunate country, is subjected to causes which are independent of the will of France, and beyond her power to control, however great that power may be supposed to be. The most profound of these causes are inherent to the present situation of the Catholic religion, and to the attitude assumed by the hierarchy of the Roman Church in regard to the bases of modern civilization. On this point, it remains for me to present a few observations. I feel that the ground on which I am about to tread is slippery; but the Mexican question cannot be considered as

fully treated so long as the difficulty referred to shall not be frankly taken in hand.

It has been said that the domain of religion is not of this world; and this is true, if by the phrase is understood that the system in virtue of which Pope Hildebrand wished to make kings the temporal lieutenants of the Papacy, liable to dismissal whenever it pleased the Holy See, is condemned for ever; that the clergy must abstain from all attempts to possess political ascendancy; that their place is in the sanctuary, at the altar, or in the pulpit, from which they must give godly instruction, and remind all men, whatever their position, that they owe each other reciprocal justice, mutual benevolence, and charity. It is not the less true that religion, by its direct and continued influence on the individual conduct of men, and on the resolutions of nations, exercises sovereign action on the march of society and the policy of States. Heaven, as men understand it, is the ideal of earth—of government as well as of society. If we wish to see to what lengths the influence of religion can be carried in evil, let us call to mind, in ancient times, the infamous acts which stained the reign of Heliogabalus. Were not those acts inspired by the gross sensuality of the religions of Asia,

which at that moment became infiltrated in the Roman world? If, on the contrary, we desire to see the good effects it has produced, let the social and political changes which Christianity promoted be enumerated. It was Christianity, above all things, which so fashioned the kingdoms erected by the barbarians out of the fragments of the Roman Empire, as to prepare modern society. If there are no longer any slaves in Europe, it is to the doctrine of Christ that the principal merit of breaking their chains is owing—that doctrine which taught men that they are all brethren, children of the same God. If political inequalities, derived from conquest, or received in inheritance from the Roman Empire, have been abolished in several States, and are being gradually effaced in all others, it is in the same teaching that we must seek the cause. If civil and political liberty has been established to the advantage of all, among the nations of Western civilization, it is because Christianity has there instructed men to respect each other in their person and property, and to recognise in each other reciprocal rights. If the condition of woman has been raised, it is because the Christian religion shows her greater regard, and because it has placed in heaven, near God, a

Woman possessed of all the attributes calculated to excite the love and veneration of mankind.

During the centuries that followed the overthrow of the Roman Empire the Church was the great civilizing power of the nations of Europe. It restrained and guided their instincts, which were gross when they were not ferocious. It restrained successively the field of violence, and limited the outbreak of the passions of the powerful, by the anathema which it held over their heads, even those of kings themselves. It promoted the spread of knowledge, and made that its own peculiar task. It organized Christendom into an extraordinarily vast association, having common sentiments and common opinions; the same doctrine on the Deity and on the origin of mankind; the same belief respecting the destiny of man in this world and the next. There were thus, among all the members of this great community, very different ties and very different co-operation to those which existed in the agglomeration formed by the Roman empire. The Supreme Chief of the Catholic hierarchy, dominating men's minds and hearts by the intellectual and moral superiority of the Church itself, obtained an immense and an uncontested power. He thus became considered and treated

as the supreme arbiter of Europe. He was, according to the expression of Voltaire, an Ecclesiastical Emperor, exercising by himself or his legates, and with greater *prestige*, the authority which had belonged to the Cæsars, though among the sovereigns there was one who possessed the dignity and title of emperor. These kings of barbarous nations were accustomed to bend their haughty heads before him. He could give away the most brilliant crowns of those times. Pepin le Bref in France, and William the Conqueror in England, would not have ascended thrones, or at least would not have established themselves thereon, if they had not been authorized and designated by the Holy Father. They were kings by the grace of the Pope, even more than by the power of their swords.

The system of the Court of Rome, which assumed all the powers on earth, the temporal as well as the spiritual, and which everywhere prescribed a law as immutable as the will of God, was, by that exaggeration of unity, the protection of civilization among the anarchy of barbarous societies, in which the passions of brutal conquerors boiled in Europe like lava in the crater of a volcano. But that system pre-

sented the immense inconvenience of tending to petrify society in a fixed mould, and to render it immovable, instead of facilitating the successive changes in its forms which are the condition of progress. By making the secular arm, that is to say, civil and political authority, the passive instrument of the Church and the executioner of its sentences, it gave to religion the character of despotism, and degraded the civil and political Government, for which there is neither force nor dignity if it be only the reflection or the servant of another. Under that system we should have had in the world not the unity of which the Gospel speaks, and which results from the moral accord of men's hearts, drawn together by faith and charity, but an intolerant and overwhelming uniformity, beneath which the human mind would have been stifled. Civil, social, and political liberty would never have been known. The system was provisionally suitable to civilization at its *début*—which it was necessary to keep in leading-strings, and, on account of the irregular elements of which it was composed, to subject to an iron rule. But as the definitive constitution of Europe, it was contrary to the genius of Christianity, which fortifies the conscience, and tends to give to every man the power to bear

the weight of his own personality. Nations and individuals would have been kept thereby in a perpetual minority and in helpless dependence.

Against this absorption and immobilising of all powers for the benefit of the Holy See, the first signal was given by sovereigns. Some of them, jealous of the exercise of their authority, resisted with the rudeness which characterized the times. There arose, in consequence, conflicts of extreme violence; but they were isolated instances, and, definitively, the current of religion and that of civilization, mingling their waters in the same channel, continued to fecundate the world for several centuries.

The moment, however, came at which the two currents were violently separated; and then it was not a few sovereigns who protested against the Court of Rome, and against the Church, of which the Holy See formed the summit—it was nations that raised their voice. Throwing off the blind submission to which, at a different epoch, they had voluntarily submitted for their own good, they claimed a right which contains in germ all liberties—that of free examination.

A crisis, caused by repeated faults and great scandals, broke out in the midst of religion. At the commencement of the sixteenth century,

a part of Europe separated from the Catholic hierarchy, denied and cast aside the religious authority of the Holy See. The latter, nevertheless, preserved or re-established its ascendancy in a great many States; but it ceased to have the right to say that its predominance was based on the assent of the freely exercised reason of nations, for it engaged in open conflict against the liberty of intelligence. It declared a systematic and implacable war against the spirit of free examination, which, however, is as indispensable to the grandeur and progress of civilized nations as air is to the lungs of man. It undertook the impossible task of keeping for ever repressed that spring which nations, on their part, wished to see in free action; and in order to succeed in this chimerical design it established, and by all means in its power extended, a jurisdiction which posterity, by a judgment engraven on the bronze tablets of History, has declared deserving the execration of mankind—the tribunal of the Inquisition. It organized against dissenters a pitiless extermination—which is the most anti-Christian thing in existence. Under the shelter of a Council, the decisions of which are without value for the French, since, in spite of the Holy See, they were not recognised in France—the

Council of Trent—it erected in the Church itself a system of absolute power against which the great doctors of the Church had always protested.

The Court of Rome thus succeeded in establishing in some states, by rigorous measures, the appearance of submission. But what a difference there was between this constrained silence and the spectacle formerly presented by all Europe of grateful populations, glad to find in the Church a guide towards better destinies, for society, for the country, and for the individual! Even in several of the States in which the Catholic hierarchy had maintained or restored their power, protests were incessantly made, and they were powerful from the reception given them by the public. In France, sovereigns found it convenient to turn to their own profit the doctrine of absolute power proclaimed by the Court of Rome for its own use. They even made, by the Concordat of Francis I., a division by which the Holy See and the Crown of France immolated reciprocally interests and rights which they ought to have respected, for the sake of the Church on the one hand, and the State on the other. But the Kings of France never admitted—on the contrary, they resisted with immovable firmness—the pretensions which

the Court of Rome then entertained, and which it has not yet abandoned, to keep sovereigns in subjection. They supported a separate constitution of the Gallican Church. On this particular point, they obtained in the *Parlements* support and co-operation which nothing wearied, in public opinion constant assistance, and even in the immense majority of the clergy an adhesion, which the bishops themselves, and at their head the illustrious Bossuet, expressed. A certain number of Catholics, and of the most pious class, too, placed themselves in a state of permanent hostility against the militia which the Papacy organized for the recovery of its domination—the Order of Jesuits. They have left monuments, of which one is immortal—*Les Provinciales.*

But this resistance or this reserve of princes, *parlements*, clergy, and of some intelligent Catholics of the Port-Royal stamp, presented for the cause of progress only partial, isolated, and apparently accidental advantages. During three centuries—the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth—political and religious compression was the law of the greater part of Europe, and particularly of France. The human mind, when it attempted to exercise its natural boldness, was treated as a criminal. Attempts were made to

bind it down to inflexible forms, like the slave of ancient society to the millstone. The despotism of kings in the State, and that of Sovereign Pontiffs in the domain of belief, supported each other willingly. They were like twins, or rather like two accomplices. The first of all liberties—that of conscience and worship—was flatly refused, and the others were not favoured. The laws of the State incessantly proclaimed inexorable intolerance in religious matters, and they did so in accordance with the system adopted and recommended by the Court of Rome.

Gallicanism displayed liberal dispositions with regard to the Holy See; but its liberalism was confined within a very narrow space, and it became a relentless persecutor when it found itself confronted by free-thinkers and even by Protestants. The *Parlements*, which were the vigilant and energetic defenders of Gallican liberties, were pitiless when they had to deal with Huguenots, and refined executioners when bolder reformers were denounced to them. The butchery of the inoffensive Vaudois, ordered by the Parlement of Aix, is one of the cruelties which History has most severely branded. The numerous condemnations to death which the Parlement of Paris pronounced under Francis I. and his son,

remain indelible stains on the memory of that great body. The horror of the execution of Vanini at Toulouse, by order of the Parlement of that town, excited indignation, not only against the sanguinary fury which animated the orthodox hierarchy, but also against the magistrates who consented to be the instruments of that fury. And what can be said of the numerous acts of violence which the *dragonnades* occasioned throughout the entire territory? What a disgrace for the Government, calling itself "Most Christian," that ordered them; for the local authorities, who took diabolical pains to aggravate them; for the Parlements, so watchful for the maintenance of legality, who found nothing to say against them; and for the clergy, who actually displayed enthusiasm at this pretended restoration of the faith! And do not these things cast a sinister shade over that society, so highly civilized, which remained a tranquil spectator of such cowardly persecution, instead of raising the cry of indignation which such an excess of moral and material torture called for? One would say that at that epoch, under the combined machinations of the Holy See and of the throne, the sentiment of human liberty was effaced from the hearts of offi-

cials, magistrates, priests, and nobles. Happily, however, the appearance was false, and this lack of moral courage had only a temporary existence. An honourable and salutary reaction was destined to come.

It must, however, be stated, to the praise of the Parlements, that in the seventeenth century they took the initiative of a notable progress in legislation in its connexion with religion. They refused to examine into charges of sorcery and magic, and to prosecute persons for crimes which they regarded as imaginary. This was a great change, inasmuch as it was the negation for the future of supernatural influence in human affairs. It was consequently the implicit condemnation of superstitious practices, which degraded public intelligence, and relaxed, and even tended to destroy, the moral strength of men.

On the whole, Gallicanism was a doctrine in the circle of which men of independent minds could not fail to feel oppressed. A larger horizon, a wider and more fecund space, were required to satisfy the want of liberty, which did not cease to agitate European civilization, in spite of all the restrictions, all the menaces, and all the penalties decreed by the laws, and applied by the

courts. In order to satisfy this imperious want, the school of philosophers was formed in the eighteenth century, and it grew strong.

In spite of the incompleteness of its views, of the partiality and passion of its opinions, the philosophy of the eighteenth century was then so much in accord with the instinct which led enlightened men to endeavour to promote the progress of societies and states, that throughout Europe it soon gained numerous adherents. In France it had supporters in all classes of society. It even possessed some in the clergy themselves, and they were not the least resolute, the least vehement. It will suffice to name the Abbé Raynal, Mably,* and at a later period Sieyès. It acquired a greater number in another class, from which, however, it was destined to wrest all its privileges —the nobility. A conflict having arisen between the religious hierarchy and the philosophers, intelligent Europe was almost unanimous in displaying preference for the latter. The public readily excused their violence, because it was disgusted with the intolerance of the Catholic hier-

* Mably, though commonly called the Abbé Mably, was not an ordained priest, but he was one of the clergy, as he was of the order of deacons.

archy, and irritated against its pretension to force under the yoke what is most essentially and most necessarily free in man—his mind and his conscience. Neutrality was difficult to men of enlightened minds and generous hearts, immediately after such cases as those of Calas and of the Chevalier de la Barre, and after the proof of blindness given by the French Episcopacy, in obstinately insisting, in the coronation of Louis XVI., that his majesty should take an oath to exterminate heretics. The movement became European—universal. The French Revolution sprang from it, armed from head to foot, and radiant. One may say that at the moment at which that revolution took place, it was greeted with the acclamations of mankind, and excited the most brilliant hopes.

Illusion! The accomplishment of those hopes was destined to sustain a cruel adjournment. It was so because the most ardent passions were soon excited, and they caused disorder and trouble in the perilous attempt of a great people to pass suddenly from an antiquated social system to a different and, in most cases, a diametrically opposite *régime*. Exasperated by the obstacles they met with, the innovators committed faults, and

what is worse, notwithstanding all that has been said, crimes. They disregarded Liberty, which was the principle and guarantee of their power, and in the course of their excesses they did violence to Religion, and persecuted its ministers.

That was a reason why Religion should have been for the future reconciled to Liberty. They were both equally victims, and equally crushed. Some eminent members of the clergy conceived this idea, or foresaw it. Among others who did so was a distinguished prelate, whose life was destined to present a union of the most solemn acts and the greatest misfortunes—the Bishop of Imola, Chiaramonti, on whose head the tiara was destined to be placed. But the powerful body which, under the Holy Father, constitutes the summit of the hierarchy, and to whose influence the Sovereign Pontiff himself is subjected—the Sacred College—remained immovable in the antiquated circle. The Bishop of Imola, become Sovereign Pontiff, could, indeed, visit Paris to crown the new Cæsar, the representative and residuary legatee of the French Revolution. He was able previously to sign the new Concordat, which at least contained great concessions in point of fact, even supposing that it did not contain any in prin-

ciple. But he had not the power to modify in any respect whatever, in the minds of their defenders, the doctrines which are called in France Ultramontane, and which the Gallican clergy for centuries warmly resisted.

The conflict which broke out on the occasion of the French Revolution, and which had covered the four parts of the world with blood and ruin, ended in 1815 by the defeat and the humiliation of France, in whom were personified the new principles for the constitution of states and societies. But from that incident arose one of the most remarkable examples of the profundity of the designs of Providence, and of the beneficial effects, unexpected by man, which it can constrain events to produce.

From the catastrophe referred to, which seemed destined to annihilate the hopes of the innovators, Liberty soon presented herself triumphant, as if by enchantment. The victorious sovereigns, who had overthrown the Imperial Colossus, and had humiliated France, became themselves suddenly converted to liberal ideas. It seemed that they also had seen in the vault of heaven the famous inscription of the labarum—*In hoc signo vinces.* France, as a compensation for all the territory

and influence wrung from her, received institutions in conformity with the principles proclaimed by that very French Revolution against which Europe had coalesced—Liberty and Equality. Several other States obtained from their princes a system founded on the same bases, and others had at least a renewed promise of the like. The moment was a solemn one for the Catholic hierarchy. But the Holy See, and with it the Episcopacy, did not understand their situation in the midst of peoples thirsting for liberty and desirous of renovation. They fell back when it was necessary to advance; they allowed themselves to be carried away by a reactionary movement. The French clergy themselves repudiated Gallican opinions, and eagerly adopted Ultramontane doctrines. The separation became more profound between the partisans of liberty and progress and the Catholic hierarchy, and there was soon, as it were, an abyss between them.

The more Liberals have strengthened the ground beneath their feet in Europe—the greater the conquests they have made by the persuasion of public opinion—the more they have succeeded in inducing governments and societies to advance in the path they admire, and in which civilization

considers itself certain to find power and happiness—the more the Roman Church has adopted immobility, and the more it has cast blame and insult on the changes which sovereigns themselves, attentive to the signs of the times, have honestly introduced into their governments, and have consecrated by the fundamental laws of their empires. When we pass in review the Encyclical Letters and the Allocutions of the Popes during the last thirty years, we are afflicted at finding them full of the bitterest expressions against, and the most absolute condemnations of, all that is the object of the love of peoples and the respect of kings. The Liberal spirit is therein branded as an inspiration of the genius of evil; the liberty of the press and the representative system are covered with disgrace; tolerance is denounced as a plague, and civilization is made the subject of mockery and disdain.

For all the faithful who are possessed of intelligence, and for all the men who, from remembering the numerous benefits to mankind produced by Catholicism, are disposed to honour it, and to wish earnestly that it may be perpetual, what sorrow it is to see the Sovereign Pontiff and the Catholic hierarchy assume definitively such an

attitude at a time at which the greatest princes take pleasure in paying homage to Liberal ideas, not only in their speeches but in their acts, and in the system of government which they adopt and practise with noble frankness!

If the Holy Father be right in speaking such language, if the hierarchy of the Church be right in proclaiming its absolute adhesion to the opinions which fall from St. Peter's chair on the astounded world, the Emperor of the French is wrong in developing the constitution of the Empire in a liberal spirit, and in profiting by all occasions to speak to nations of his attachment to liberty. The Emperor of Austria is unpardonable in having recognised the complete inutility of the reactionary measures which he adopted when he was young and inexperienced, and in giving to his subjects a frankly liberal constitution, which he religiously observes. So with the Emperor of Russia. When he ascended the throne, he saw throughout his immense empire millions of serfs plunged in hereditary humiliation. He then resolved on executing one of the vastest enterprises of emancipation ever attempted, thereby preparing his subjects to receive at an early day the political system which is in

honour in the west of Europe. Now, if the court of Rome be right, the Czar Alexander II. is a crowned madman. But in that case, must not the praises which posterity has awarded to the Apostles and Sovereign Pontiffs who formerly struck off chains from the hands of slaves, be changed into reproaches?

We saw, less than a year ago, the bishops of all Christendom, assembled at Rome under the pretext of honouring the memory of the martyrs of Japan, sign with imposing unanimity an address to the Holy Father, the object of which was to proclaim that an immense misfortune menaced the Church and the faith—which misfortune consisted in the efforts made by the Italians to transfer their capital to Rome, and to deprive the Holy See of its temporal power: Ah! how was it that among those eminent prelates there was not one to cry, when that address was proposed, that the supreme danger which threatens the Papacy and religion is other than the absorption of pontifical territory by Italy, or than the profound modification of a temporal power which has fallen into decay, and only exists in name; that the imminent peril, that which must be prevented by all the acts which

faith authorizes, is the separation between the Catholic hierarchy and modern civilization; that that separation is already manifest in the opinions of the two high parties: and that, by the irresistible impulse of logic, it runs the risk of being completely consummated, and of taking the form of schism, if the present situation be prolonged!

CHAPTER II.

DISSATISFACTION PROVOKED BY RECENT EVENTS—PRETENDED MIRACLES.

THERE is one subject which the rules of the most ordinary circumspection recommended the Church not to touch—viz., the supernatural. In order that men should not be tempted to deny the multitude of miracles that have been recorded in the past, it would seem there was but one course for the Church to take—that of ceasing to call attention to the question, by ceasing to promulgate new miracles in the time present. Since the generations of men have habituated themselves to the study of the physical sciences, and have lifted the curtain that hid from them the operations of nature, the conviction has been gained that, in the kingdom of matter, everything obeys fixed laws, which imperturbably produce

their effects. When the doctrines of mythology prevailed, behind each phenomenon there was a special god, whose passions were as changeable as those of men, and who could modify natural events according to the turn of his caprice. In our day, above the worlds there is an only and perfect God, who has submitted nature to laws whose very permanence attests His infinite wisdom, and reveals at the same time His boundless power, since these immutable laws produce of themselves effects the most different. The incessant miracle is the grandeur, the beauty, and the fecundity of these laws, and the perfection of their harmony: other miracles there are none.

Such is the opinion adhered to at the present day by all enlightened intellects, by all men who have burst the bonds of superstition. The study of the mathematical, physical, and zoological sciences, as more and more propagated, brings that opinion more and more into credit among all classes. But as moderation has taken a great hold on the public mind, and reflection has shown how great respect is due to religion, the source of so much good to the world, men have abstained from making a retrospective application of the opinion. Yet independent and upright minds

maintain it with great firmness in reference to the domain of the present. To assail this opinion is simply to encounter grave inconveniences and perils, and to risk the chance of utter discomfiture.

Unfortunately, the taste for the supernatural, and the tendency to make its intervention unceasing, still exists among that portion of the population whom their profound ignorance retains under the yoke of superstition; and a portion of the Church is led to cultivate this bent as one of the legitimate means for the government of societies, though it constitutes an obstacle to the peoples' attainment of moral perfection, because it extinguishes the feeling of responsibility. We have a strange example of this in the battle that terminated the struggle of the *Sunderbund*, in Switzerland, near Fribourg, some fourteen years ago. In France, under the Restoration, the missionaries, in the exaltation of an unlucky zeal, early affected to favour such rude instincts. Among others will be recollected the miracle of the Cross of Migné, which aroused public excitement, and gave occasion to a discussion in which the partisans of superstition had not the advantage.

As a sequence of the controversy that ensued

on the subject of the Cross of Migné, attempts at miracles ceased to recur in France, unless it were, perhaps, in those obscure and low regions into which the eye does not penetrate, and from whence no echo reverberates abroad. But this was but a temporary suspension; after a score of years there has been a fresh outbreak. And now-a-day the propagators of these miraculous feats are no longer mere humble village pastors or missionaries, whose ardent imagination has beguiled their faith. Men who respect the Catholic religion have had the unlooked-for vexation of beholding dignitaries of the Church, bishops even, sanction with their authority the miraculous appearance of the Virgin of La Salette, and her of the Grotto of Lourdes. It is but a year ago that a charge from the Bishop of Tarbes, which it was painful to read, lauded the latter of these pretended prodigies, worthy as it was of ranking with that fabricated at St. Saturnin (Vaucluse) by the adroit hands of the girl Rose Tamisier. I mention this last because at the very moment when it was stigmatized by the Court of Nîmes, in a memorable judgment,*

* The judgment termed the pretended miracle *an unworthy juggle*, and declared that *the allegation of a miraculous intervention deserved to inspire only pity and contempt.*

it was exciting in the south of France the same frenzy that hailed the miracles of Salette and Lourdes, and had been the object of similar attestations.

A fact still more grave, if possible, is that the Court of Rome, in the canonizations it decrees of personages who have lived in modern times, exalts the miracles they are said to have accomplished or to have been the occasion of!

This is one of the points on which the disagreement between the Church and the age is deepest, and the difference on which may become exceedingly envenomed.

CHAPTER III.

ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY THE COURT OF ROME—ENCYCLIC OF THE 15TH AUGUST 1832, AND PAPAL ALLOCUTION OF THE 18TH MAY 1861—ALLOCUTION OF THE 15TH DECEMBER 1856, RELATIVE TO MEXICO AND THE WHOLE OF SPANISH AMERICA.

It would not be superfluous here, perhaps, to pause for a moment in order to demonstrate by multiplied quotations to what a pitch is carried the difference of opinion between civilized nations and their Governments, on the one hand, and the Sovereign Pontiff and Catholic hierarchy or episcopate, on the other, on the grave subject of the direction to be impressed on human societies, and on the political institutions suitable for them. But a formal discussion on that

weighty topic would lead us far beyond the limits prescribed by the nature of this essay. Besides, to carry conviction to the reader's mind, I have but one thing to ask of him—namely, that he will be good enough to read the principal documents that have emanated from the Holy See since the liberal movement became decidedly in the ascendant over the whole extent of Europe, a period of some thirty years back—that is, from the Revolution accomplished by France in herself, in 1830, up to the present moment, when liberty has triumphed everywhere, except at Rome.

Among these documents there are none more remarkable than the two following—the Encyclic of Gregory XVI., of the 15th August 1832, which was launched on the occasion of the tentative made by a few French priests, at the head of whom was Lamennais, for the purpose, as they said and believed, of re-establishing concord between Catholicism and liberty; and the Allocution pronounced by Pius IX., the present Sovereign Pontiff, on the 18th March 1861, on the subject of modern tendencies favourable to liberty. These two emanations from the Holy See have the closest connexion with the

subject that now occupies us, and, as will be soon seen, with the Mexican question itself.*

The first condemns all novelties in general. It pronounces judgment in form against liberty of conscience, which it terms "a false and absurd, or rather extravagant maxim;" against the liberty of the press, which, it says, is "the most fatal liberty, an execrable liberty, that never can be held in enough horror." Other political liberties are equally loaded with reprobation. Princes are warned that "power has been given to them not solely for the government of the world, but, above all, for the support and the defence of the Church." The Allocution of Pius IX. is devoted particularly to the examination and refutation of the proposition patronized, and presented direct to the Holy See, by the greatest Governments of Europe, in order that it "should reconcile itself and make an alliance with what is called *progress, liberalism*, and the new civilization."† Among the reproaches addressed to modern civilization

* The two documents made a great noise. They were collected in a pamphlet published by a fervent Catholic, M. Rupert, with the title, "De la Liberté Moderne jugée par l'Eglise:" Paris, 1862, published by Victor Palmé.

† Such are the words of the Allocution. The words in italics are so in the original Latin.

is to be found that of being kindly disposed towards non-Catholic modes of worship, of not excluding dissidents, termed *infidels*, from public employments, and of permitting them to have their children instructed in Catholic schools. The rest of the Allocution is devoted to the temporal power of the Papacy, which cause is represented as being bound up with that of the Faith.

Taking my position at a point of view exclusively human, I may be allowed to express an opinion on the language held by the Holy Father, and to take the liberty, by way of hypothesis, of putting into his mouth something altogether different. Looking on from that position, there is nothing to hinder me from thinking that the Sovereign Pontiff would have achieved a very much greater political effect, a very much greater moral effect—and what, in his love for the human race, could not have been indifferent to him—that he would have been the author of a far greater amount of social utility, if, instead of fulminating an anathema against that which the age covets and loves—progress, liberalism, and civilization—he had expressed himself nearly in these terms:—

"This progress that you pursue, to what

were modern nations indebted for it in the first instance? To the religion that bowed the head of the fierce Sicambrians, that tamed their brutal and violent appetites, that enabled whatever of the arts and sciences had escaped destruction to flourish under the shade of basalicas and monasteries! The protection given to the humble, which enabled them by degrees to carry the head erect—the support afforded to the feeble, which placed them in conditions where they might become strong—whence came they, if not from the Church, which opposed its spiritual arms to the sword and club of conquering barbarians? Equality! the foundation of the civil and political laws of modern peoples—it was the Sanctuary that offered the precept and example for it: the precept, by the words of Christ, that all men are the children of God; the example, by the organization of the Catholic hierarchy, in which the son of the slave or the serf was esteemed equal to the issue of kings. The liberty for which you have been so enthusiastic for nearly half a century, and for love of which you have put forth superhuman efforts, making the planet itself tremble on its axis—that liberty the very name of which thrills with joy the people that possess it, and the hope of which

sustains oppressed populations—the Church it was that brought you its germ; the Church it was that, proclaiming to the most powerful their brotherhood with the slave and the serf, brought on enfranchisement. It was Religion that laid the foundations of a liberty unknown even to the freest nations of antiquity, habituating you by degrees—nobles and villeins, tradesmen and workmen, powerful and feeble—to esteem and respect one another. Antiquity instituted the rights of the citizen; Christianity inaugurated the rights of man, and is the true founder of human liberty. Civilization, the daughter of Europe, which is now making dispositions to cover the whole surface of the globe, is the fruit of religion; for the latter inspired its principles and prepared its conquests. The industry of whose productiveness you are with justice proud, which is ever toiling to furnish the elements of comfort to the whole human family—what would it be if the Church had not released from serfdom those classes that devote to it their labour? The sciences with which civilization feels delighted to be adorned, where would they have been if the spiritualist doctrine, which religion made dominant, had not promoted their advancement? Your fine arts, what elevated and

ennobled them? Your sensibility, what refined it? Your manners, what purified them? What but the spirit of Christianity? All that there is of the beautiful and the great in civilization, whether voluntarily or in spite of itself, sings the praises of the Christian religion. The philosophers of the eighteenth century, who fancied themselves the adversaries of the Church, what stock did they live on, if not on the ideas that religion had graven on their minds—if not on the sentiments of love for the human race which Christ bequeathed to the world at his death on the Cross? Toleration for religious opinions!—it was Christ who first preached it, for he excluded none from Heaven but the perverse and lovers of themselves, those whose heart delights in doing ill to their fellow-creatures. He taught that to love one another was the groundwork and substance of religion. He extolled the benevolent Samaritan; and the Apostle Paul recognised the God of the Christians in an Athenian temple."

In my incompetence, which I in nowise dissemble, and of which I make the most humble confession, I see nothing in the New Testament that prohibits the successor of St. Peter from thus setting out the titles of the Church to the

gratitude of man, and from proclaiming that he sanctions, loves, and favours the best established and most irresistible tendencies of those nations that are the leaders of the others. It is the province of the reader to decide whether I am wrong in expressing the opinion, that if the Court of Rome would start from these truths, and attempt that reconciliation between the Church and modern civilization for which the age is quite disposed, it would not have more to applaud itself for than from manifestoes charged with bitterness, and bursting with insult against what the very men who most respect religion consider as the glory of their time, and as a happiness for the human race.

Among the documents that have emanated from the Holy See during the period on which I have thought it necessary to dwell—that dating from the revolution of 1830—there is one that comes most directly within the scope of this essay: I mean the Allocution pronounced by his Holiness Pius IX., in the Secret Consistory of the 15th December 1856, having for text the state of religion in the Mexican Republic. The Government of the Republic had decided, after some considerable hesitation, on establishing relations between the State and the Church similar to those

which the French Revolution, becoming regularized in its course, had instituted in France, and which are still enforced by the laws of that country, without any apparent contest on the part of the Court of Rome. In addition, it made no more scruple than did the French Constituent Assembly of 1789 of taking possession (with divers reserves in favour of priests and monks) of the large estates held by the clergy, for the purpose of appropriating them to the imperious wants of the State. It is against this disposal that the Holy Father raises his voice. The acts blamed by his Holiness, as I gather from the Allocution itself, are the following:—

1. The abolition of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*fuero*), of which I have already spoken,* by virtue of which the Mexican clergy were not subjected to the ordinary tribunals.

2. The refusal of the Mexican Government to submit such of its enactments as concerned the clergy to the supreme authority of the Apostolic See.

3. The State's taking possession of the lands and property of the clergy. It results, however,

* See vol. I. p. 381.

from the terms of the Allocution, that, in certain cases, at least, members of religious communities and priests of parishes had been authorized by the Mexican Government to settle on themselves a portion of these lands and properties, on condition of paying the duties and expenses incurred by the change. The Pontifical Allocution proves that several members of the clerical body had not hesitated to benefit by the offer*; whence it follows that this entering into possession by the State was less rigorous in Mexico than in France.

4. The abolition of perpetual vows.

5. Liberty of worship. This is assailed in the following terms: "The more easily to corrupt the minds and manners of the people, to propagate the abominable and disastrous pestilence of *indifferentism*, and to achieve the destruction of our holy religion, the free exercise of all modes of worship is allowed, and full and entire facility is granted to each individual openly and publicly to manifest every kind of opinion and notion."

These different measures, voted by the Mexican legislature, on the model of the legislation of

* They are severely blamed for it.

France,* are condemned by the Holy Father, at the same time with divers others of which I have no intention of offering myself as the defender, but of which, perhaps, we must not look for a perfectly impartial *exposé* in the Allocution under consideration.† The very form of the condemnation deserves to be noticed. It says—

"With all Apostolic liberty, we raise our Pontifical voice in the midst of your august assembly, and we condemn, reprobate, and declare absolutely null and of no effect all the above-mentioned decrees, and all the acts done by the Civil Power of Mexico with such a contempt of the ecclesiastical authority and of the Apostolic See, and with so great prejudice to religion, to pontiffs and to ecclesiastics in particular. In addition, we in the gravest manner warn all those that have taken part in those acts by their proceedings, their

* These enactments are inserted in the definitive Constitution adopted by Mexico in 1857. The Court of Rome was acquainted with the programme at the end of 1856, and possibly the Holy Father hoped by his Allocution to prevent its adoption at the last moment.

† In particular, there is the exile pronounced against some of the prelates who had protested against laws regularly voted, and had laboured—the Allocution does not say in what fashion—to obtain their annulment.

counsels, or their orders, to think seriously on the punishments and censures awarded in the Apostolic Constitutions and in the sacred canons of the Councils against the violators and profaners of persons and things sacred, as well as of ecclesiastical liberty and power, and against the usurpers of the rights of the Holy See."

It may be remarked that this is nearly as Gregory VII. would have spoken.

This same document contains severe remonstrances addressed to the other Governments of Spanish America. I will enumerate the outrages on religion and the Church of which the Holy See accuses them. The reader will see what it is that, in the language of the Court of Rome, is called "overthrowing and treading under foot the divine institution of the Church, its holy doctrine, its venerable authority, its discipline, all its rights, and the supreme dignity and sovereign power of the Apostolic See."

The *lay power*—the Government, in other words—presents bishops to the Court of Rome, and requires of them that they should assume the administration of the diocese before having received canonical institution from Rome.—This is the diminutive of the right exercised in Ame-

rica by the Spanish Crown. The independent Governments are entitled to consider themselves as the natural heirs of this right in its integrity, as it had been recognised by the Holy See.

The bishops are not free to condemn writings which they may believe to be contrary to religion. —That is, the independent governments have withdrawn from bishops the right of exercising the censure, or of having an *index*. All the European Governments are now agreed on that point.

Bishops may not publish documents emanating from the Court of Rome without the authority of the Government.—That is what the Court of Rome accepted for France by the Concordat, and what existed in France before the Revolution.

The liberty of acquiring landed property is taken from the Church.—The majority of the Governments of Europe have, for political reasons, subjected to strict limitation the right of the clergy to acquire landed property.

The civil power has suppressed tithes.—The same is the case in France. It has abolished the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—Also as in France. It does not recognise the whole of the bars to

marriage established by the Church.—Also as in France, even after the civil law, that permitted divorce, was abolished. The civil power has changed the age fixed by the Church for the profession of religion, both for men and women; it has forbidden solemn vows (perpetual vows are meant).—But there is not any Government in Europe that does not conceive itself to have the right of doing all these things, and the greater part of them have exercised the right.

To these grievances, alleged in precise terms against the whole of the independent Governments of Spanish America, are added some others, stated for the most part in general and vague terms, and so slipping from the reader's appreciation. But the principal pleas set forth by the Holy Father, in his Allocution of December 1856, against the South American Governments, are those we have just reproduced; and, as is seen, they are of such a nature that the sentiment of enlightened men will refuse to espouse the quarrel of the Holy See, and, on the contrary, will disapprove the pretensions it raises. In fact, it is the doctrines of another age which the Court of Rome would wish to force upon America, even in what they have specially offensive

to the most incontestible principles of modern public right. It is the old notion of subordinating the State to the Church that is manifested, although the age has clearly shown the antipathy it bears thereto.

CHAPTER IV.

INTESTINE CONVULSIONS AND DISORDERS IN THE CATHOLIC STATES, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE COURT OF ROME.

The position taken by the Holy See and the Sacred College—and following them, almost unanimously, by the episcopacy—with respect to the spirit that animates the peoples of modern times, is therefore that of declared antagonism. It is impossible not to perceive therein a source of trouble for consciences, and an incessant cause of bickering and irritation between the Church and the State. Religion and faith, it seems to me, can gain nothing by this, and good order in the State can only lose by it. Obedient Catholics, for whom every word uttered by the Holy See is an oracle, cannot but dislike and hate representative institutions and the liberal guarantees confirmed

by the laws of their country. They are incited to disobey the laws and to defy them. On their part, even the most prudent and patient friends of liberty, progress, and civilization, must be deeply wounded by the fact, that the political institutions and liberal laws honourably won by the human race with long and painful efforts should be dogmatically represented—in the name of the religion which they ask nothing better than to honour, in the name of that Divinity whose holy name they venerate—as *scourges*, and held up to the reprobation and *horror* of the faithful under the title of *works of Satan*.

Catholic nations are thus placed in the most painful of alternatives; for to proclaim from the Chair of St. Peter that no conciliation is possible between faith, on the one hand, and progress, liberalism, and civilization, on the other, such as they are desired and understood by Europe in calmness and reason, is it not to signify to them that they must choose between the two? But how is the choice possible? Openly to repudiate what the Court of Rome commands to be believed, what it assimilates to articles of faith—at least by the violence it displays in the support of it—and to persist in doctrines against which that Court hurls an anathema, is the commencement

of a schism for which no one has a liking. But, on the other hand, is there a man of sense who imagines that civilized peoples are going to renounce that Liberal system in which, carried prudently into practice, they are assured they will find true good order, power, greatness, knowledge, and wealth; or that they will ever decide on abandoning the flag of religious toleration, notwithstanding the pains taken at Rome to compare it to the plague? To perpetuate in states such discord as this, is it not to endanger, at one and the same time, religious faith, public peace, and national liberty? The vital powers of Catholic nations would be consumed and exhausted in such a conflict. Would not that be an irreparable loss to the Church?

Not only does the most simple process of reasoning reveal the dangers of this flagrant antagonism between the doctrine upheld by the Church and the principles to which mature reflection and long experience have brought civilized states, sovereigns and peoples alike; but further, the facts are compelled to proclaim that, of the two influences at conflict, the one that is in the wrong is not that of the spirit of the age.

And, indeed, of the great collective existences

called European States, let us feel the pulse of those in which the doctrine of the Church as to the government of societies has had the ascendancy. All successively, enlightened at last by their own decay and their own ruin, have pushed away the cup from their lips and refused to quench their thirst from it. Several still drank from it but a few years ago, and what has become of them? Look at Spain before 1830, and the kingdom of Naples at the moment when the throne of the Bourbons crumbled into dust at the breath of Garibaldi: they were Governments without strength, without intelligence, and without honour—States incapable of the slightest enterprise and the slightest activity. Yet they were governed, to the utmost extent possible, according to the heart's wish of the Court of Rome. I say to the utmost extent possible, because the system proclaimed by the two Pontifical documents of 1832 and 1861 had been compelled to submit to a few restrictions in both those States; and those very derogations it was that maintained in them a spark of life. But there, where the system was complete, without any reserve, in the Roman States—heavens, what a spectacle! The word impotence would be flattery for the picture of such a political situation.

The proper word is nothingness, for it is in vain to make search at Rome—no Government is to be discerned there; the most experienced eye can distinguish nought more of such a thing than the corpse. For fourteen years have the arms of France preserved the city of Rome to the Holy See, and for that period the Papacy has been in a position to rehabilitate the temporal power in the Holy City. Under the shadow of the French flag, it might have tried in safety whatsoever it had conceived, and have displayed at ease the plenitude of its means. But, after such a lapse of time, and under such circumstances, things are at that point that, should the French troops evacuate Rome some morning, that very evening the political authority of the Holy Father would be no longer in existence. It is not I who say this—it is the whole world.

On the opposite hand, all the States are congratulating themselves for having entered on the paths recommended by the spirit of the age, though they were disapproved of by the Holy See. Moreover, the spirit of the age has been educated and moderated by the lessons it has received from events. It is no longer what it was in France in 1792-3—impassioned, absolute, repudiating all temporizing as weakness, and all

compromise as cowardice. It proceeds by degrees, making the ground firm under its feet before taking a fresh step. In the matter of religion it repudiates Cabanis' profession of faith—"I swear there is no God;" it professes, on the contrary, a great respect for religious ideas; it proclaims that a creed is the cement of States; it is Christian. Forty years since the Liberals said, "The law is atheist;" now they repeat the formula of M. Guizot, "The State is lay." In politics, the age exhibits no less a degree of wisdom and moderation. It has done homage to the principle of authority, which it formerly denied; and by so doing it has conciliated the princes, who have sincerely become the partisans of that progress, liberalism, and civilization, so harshly treated by the Holy See.

Though the doctrine of the Court of Rome on the government of societies and on the relations of the Church with the State be inadmissible—though there be no longer a single prince or a single people who will follow it—still it must be remembered that the recommendations, the reproofs, and the corrections of the Court of Rome have their effect on the consciences of a large number of persons among the Catholic populations. It is not in the power of the Holy See to

re-establish among any people whatsoever the forms and the principles of government which it conceives to be the only good ones; but in several States it can, by troubling consciences, embarrass the march of affairs, and prevent that excellent and complete harmony between the constituted powers and the public which is so necessary to the internal tranquillity of nations and to their authority in the world. We had an example of this in France under the Government of 1830.

We then saw the heads of the Catholic hierarchy avail themselves of the liberties guaranteed by the constitution to brave the Sovereign and alarm the faith of families. The Royal Colleges, administered by the State with a care it seemed impossible not to acknowledge, were daily denounced as *schools of pestilence*—nothing less than that, for the Catholic hierarchy seem to delight in the most insulting and irritating expressions. That declared hostility was a notorious cause of weakness to the State. The Government, nevertheless, made great sacrifices to the feeling of the Church, in the hope of disarming the clergy. Indeed, we immolated to it even the most sacred of principles—that of liberty of worship. The policy of the Government, and the interpreta-

tion given to the laws, had the effect of endangering that acquisition, so dear to modern civilization. Vainly did the Court of Orleans, by a judgment of the 9th January 1838, vindicate and seek to establish the principle of liberty of worship, in the way consistent with good sense, and in accordance with the formal text of the Charter. The judgment was quashed. It is a matter of public notoriety that thereafter Protestants found they were refused authority for the public practice of their worship, however sincere their convictions, and however honourable themselves, whenever application was made to introduce that practice into a town where they had not hitherto possessed a place of worship.*

* The Department of Haute Vienne has been the theatre of one of these refusals of the most obstinate kind. Under the present government, Protestant families there have, in the end, been able to practice their religion, without being continuously sent to the Correctional Police, before which, however, they were summoned and convicted subsequently to 1852. But the construction of law in virtue of which their place of meeting was closed, and themselves tried and punished in person, has not been modified, and the decree of the 25th March 1852 has even given it fresh force. The system of what in France is called previous authorization subsists, more substantiated by the law than ever, though it is evidently opposed to freedom. In this sense, there is ground for saying that freedom of worship is still waiting to be constituted in France.

They were encountered with the articles of the Penal Code, which subjected assemblages of more than twenty persons to a previous authorization from the Government, as if those articles had not been abrogated by the Charter in regard to religious meetings.

Under a *régime* like that of the Imperial Government, which is invested with a more extended prerogative than the Royal authority of 1830, and which, though possessing much more the means of making itself respected, is not the less resolved never to use its powers to the detriment of religion, there is no fear that the ill-will of a few of the leaders of the clergy, even were it ardent, and their opposition, even were it systematic, could convulse the State. There is too much information in France, and the enlightened classes are too influential, for it to be possible to turn French society out of its course. Even in the classes among whom instruction has not been able to diffuse its benefits, the general feeling is exceedingly favourable to the principles of 1789, which are but one and the same thing with what is reprobated at Rome under the names of progress, liberalism, and civilization. That feeling is growing stronger day by day, and we may believe it to be more robust than it was twenty

years ago—that it is perfectly invincible. So that in France nothing can prevail against modern ideas, purified as they are from having passed through the crucible of experience and adversity. And yet, even at this present day, it would not do to make light of a conflict between the State and the Catholic hierarchy.

CHAPTER V.

HOW FRANCE MAY ENCOUNTER THE ROMAN QUESTION ANEW IN MEXICO IF SHE ATTEMPTS TO REGENERATE THAT COUNTRY.

If we quit France for Mexico, so as to return to our subject, we shall find ourselves in presence of circumstances that create anxieties of a very different nature.

In Mexico the chief mass of the population are steeped in ignorance and the grossest superstition. Among that less numerous class who have received some education, puerile prejudices and obsolete opinions are often to be met with, conjoined with a Liberalism loudly vaunted. These elements form a body social easily agitated by invoking the real or pretended interests of religion. This it is that explains the position, surprising to the French observer, taken up by the Court

of Rome towards the Mexican Government. This it is also that gives rise to the difficulty of founding in Mexico forthwith an order of things conformable to modern ideas—to the ideas now in vogue in every country in Europe, and numbering an energetic party in Mexico itself, at least equal in power to that of the exclusive Catholics.

Thus the extreme embarrassment France will be plunged into, once at Mexico, if she should endeavour to found there a stable Government, appears under a new light.

The Court of Rome has no admiration or approval for innovation in France any more than in Spanish America. If it had the power it would destroy them in the one country as well as the other; but when the matter appertains to France, ordinarily it has the prudence to keep silence with regard to changes, of which, moreover, it appeared to accept a portion at the period of the Concordat. The seizure by the State of the lands of the clergy, the abolition of perpetual vows, the suppression of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the character of a civil act given to marriage, the recognition—a very imperfect one, it is true, and more Platonic than real—of liberty

of worship, excite not its rage ostensibly,* when the French nation is the subject to be treated. But all that is obtained from it is a submission to these novelties, not without reserves being made *in petto*, with the hope of some day giving utterance to them. But when the scene is changed from Paris to Mexico, forthwith the Court of Rome is no longer content with mental reservations—it threatens, it thunders.

The institutions in whose favour French influence would be exercised in Mexico—the Juarez Government once overthrown—cannot but be liberal. It is impossible for the French there to make themselves the patrons of a system that should not be more or less like their own. It is impossible they should labour to establish there anything but a representative Government, liberal from the commencement, and destined to become more so, in proportion as the country makes way in its education. It is impossible they should endeavour to import thither institutions that would

* It is not unknown that more than one effort has been made since 1852 to get an alteration of that enactment of the "Code Napoleon" which makes marriage a civil act, and to have it recognised that the religious ceremony suffices for legality, contrary to the formal enactments of the French laws.

not be after the model of those loved and honoured in Europe, and in all countries where European races have developed themselves. In a word, it seems to me evident that, if the French attempt to exercise a political influence in that beautiful Anahuac, it will be solely to cause modern civilization to flourish there, with the characteristics they have given it among themselves. Will they not then be met, on the part of the high Mexican clergy and of the Court of Rome, with the same resistance that all efforts of that kind have encountered in Mexico since the era of Independence?

It is true those efforts were made by unskilful leaders, little versed in the difficult art of policy, strangers to the rules of good administration, and prompt to have recourse to military proceedings when they had objections to refute or obstacles to surmount. But if the French, while remaining in the country by way of temporary occupation, should directly renew such attempts at innovation, their designs, however useful and disinterested they may be, will suffer from the fact of the proposers being foreigners. If, on the contrary, they should withdraw after having reached the city of Mexico, and entrust the care of that laborious enterprise to such Mexicans as

may be installed in the Government under their auspices, with or without a crowned head borrowed from Europe, what guarantee is there for those persons exhibiting more dexterity and obtaining greater success than their predecessors? If the French programme were carried into execution by themselves, by agreement with the Court of Rome, or if the French should obtain its good will and concurrence for the Government they may leave behind them, the game might and would be won. But how far is it now probable the Court of Rome would give way to the recommendations of the French in favour of any prince that might be inaugurated at Mexico, from the moment that prince should unfurl the Liberal banner, or that it would consent to make itself the accomplice of French Liberalism, unless they remained to act on the country in their own persons for that object? Is there any reason for supposing that it would lend itself frankly to the support of the plan of regeneration France would essay, or that it would protect or recommend that plan, which could have no other than Liberal principles for its foundation? It repudiates and execrates those principles. There are no terms of severity and humiliation that it does not delight to pour on them. It has adopted a habit of

proclaiming that liberty—which France cannot dispense with for the consolidation of her influence—is the perdition of the human race. By thrilling demonstrations, like the Allocution of the 15th of December 1856, before mentioned, it has excited the populations of Spanish America, and notably those of Mexico, to repudiate the greater portion of the principles and institutions which the French would favour among them.

In the effort that France may now make for the Mexican nation, it will be necessary to have more than the neutrality of the Court of Rome—its friendly co-operation would be needed. An obstinate struggle is already organized in that unfortunate nation between a conservative and an innovating party, both full of passion, and consequently destitute of moderation; both alike led astray by ambitious and unscrupulous leaders. They have irritated each other by their reciprocal exaggerations, and have thus become more and more exasperated and determined. To bring them both to a footing of conciliation is indispensable to the success of the efforts that France might make.

The majority of the clergy, and with it very many men of note who are fervent Catholics,

are at the head of the party we should call Conservative, though they contribute quite as much as their opponents to perpetuate the anarchy that is wasting the country. The interest of religion and the Church—an interest they understand after their own fashion—is the moving impulse of this party. They have never ceased to represent that the faith is menaced by liberal doctrines and by the spirit of modern civilization. They will stand immovable on the ground they have taken up, so long as they feel or fancy themselves to be supported by the Court of Rome; and thence no compromise is possible on their side with the party of innovation, who have proclaimed the principles of liberalism only to make an inconsiderate and excessive application of them. In such a state of things civil war would be perpetuated until the complete dissolution of the country.

The majority of the clergy, with the exception of the bishops, then almost all natives of Spain, were in the beginning favourable to the revolution. It will be recollected that Hidalgo, the first general the insurrection had, was a parish priest, and that his parishioners were his first recruits. The Generalissimo Morelos, who,

before he fell, made the flag of Independence triumphant in so many quarters, was also a parish priest, who left his parsonage for the field of combat. Matamoros likewise was a parish priest, who temporarily deserted his peaceful duties to gird on the sword. In reading M. Lucas Alaman's detailed history of the War of Independence, secular or regular priests are met with in every page among the promoters and active supporters of the war against Spain, and among the commanders of the insurgent corps. From the influence they exercised over the Indian and half-blood populations, who were grateful for the zeal shown in their favour, the clergy were most useful auxiliaries to the insurrection. The Plan of Iguala, which for a time rallied every suffrage, was called the Plan of *the three guarantees;* and one of the three, that denominated the first, consisted in upholding for the Catholic religion its rights and exclusive privileges, up to and including a prohibition against the exercise of any other worship.* The adhesion of the clergy, obtained under those

* Art. I. of the Plan of Iguala declares that one of the bases of the organization of the country shall be "the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion, without toleration of any other."

conditions, contributed not a little to secure for the Plan the enthusiastic welcome it received.

But following almost immediately on victory, discord made its appearance in the ranks of the partisans of Independence. They severed into two great parties. The majority of the clergy, and of the devout Catholics, were on the one side. The liberal professions were at the head of the other way of thinking. The real or supposed interests of religion became the subject of quarrel. The Liberal party, whose education was based mainly on the perusal of the French philosophers and publicists, followed the road on which they had already been preceded by the Liberals of France, and afterwards by those of the Spanish Peninsula and Italy. In regard to religion, they desired to repeat the major portion of what had been effected in France under the Constituent Assembly and the Consulate. Thus their idea was to transfer to the State, which was exceedingly impoverished, the ownership of the clergy lands. More was not needed to consummate the rupture. They also proposed to establish liberty of worship, which is engraved in large letters on the Constitution now in vigour. *A fortiori*, the party were bent on securing for the

State, in anticipation of possible pretensions from the Court of Rome, the various guarantees existing in France, such as the obligation to submit bulls, briefs, and other documents emanating from the Holy See, to the sanction of the Government prior to publication.

At the moment of writing, the Liberal party have the advantage; but the Conservatives are ruffled, and bear their defeat with angry impatience, longing for revenge. They have left them great means to set in action, powerful influences to bring into play. For some number of years at least, the French policy in Mexico has leant in preference to the side of the Conservative party; but if Mexico should be temporarily occupied with the purpose of reorganizing it, the French cannot follow that party in their exclusive views and notions of immobility. Doubtless, it would be well to make sure of their co-operation; but, for all that, the French could not dispense with the support of the innovating and Liberal party, who represent principles eminently to be respected, and dear to France, and who, besides, appear to be the strongest. France will reap nothing but mortification in Mexico if satisfaction is not given

to both parties, as far as their respective wishes are legitimate.

If the Mexican enterprise be persevered in, France will have to fulfil a mission very much like that undertaken by the First Consul in the year VIII, in the interior of France itself. That great man found the country divided into two great parties, who were extremely excited one against the other—that of the Revolution, and that which, terrified at the disasters that had accrued from the experiments essayed since 1789, was rushing headlong backward. He conceived an arrangement, and carried it out, constituting himself the dictator—or rather accepting the dictatorship that was offered him, by common accord, by the most prudent men of the parties then in presence. He laid down the terms of a general reconciliation, in which the Catholic faithful and the Church had their share, and to which even the Court of Rome was, by the Concordat, a contracting party. We must, however, remark that one of the principal elements in the success of the First Consul, the dictatorship, is wanting to France in her Mexican enterprise, since her position as a foreign nation formally inhibits it.

Looking at the circumstances in which Mexico is placed, the effort for its reconstitution calls for the intervention of the Holy See. That intervention was in France useful to pacification in the interior; but in Mexico it would be more than useful—it would be indispensable. Only an explicit declaration from the Holy Father can reassure the consciences of the faithful and the clergy, and obtain the assent and co-operation of the Conservative party to the prudent but frankly Liberal measures that could be patronized by France, and without which the restoration of Mexico is a chimera. If the imposing strength of France and the venerated authority of the Holy See could be brought in concert to the service of an enlightened policy, they would, it is to be hoped, determine an approximation of parties, as a sequel to which the country would find itself placed nearly in the same moral situation as in 1821, when it seemed unanimous.

Will the Court of Rome lend itself to this in all probability decisive step? That is the question. Appearances, it must be admitted, are scarcely favourable. That court is not in the vein for demonstrations favourable

to Liberalism, to progress, and civilization. In Italy, in what territory it has left, every day brings into greater relief the tenacity of its resistance to innovations—if we can still with reason apply that word to a collection of social and political regulations, in whose favour practice has pronounced and reiterated its sovereign judgment. Its language is not more encouraging out of Italy, when it speaks. There is on all sides a deep antagonism between what is said by the Court of Rome, and what is thought by the accepted councillors and guides of the most civilized and most powerful nations. The development and firm settlement of human liberty is considered by the one side as the palladium, and by the other as the ruin, of societies and States.

As I am finishing this essay, the Court of Rome gives once again a standard of its feelings relative to Spanish America. In an Allocution of the 6th March 1863, the Holy Father expressed himself in the following terms:—"On this occasion, venerable brethren, we announce to you with deep satisfaction that we have concluded Concordats with the Republics of San Salvador and Nicaragua, analogous to those

the Holy See has already concluded with the other Governments of Central America. In these last documents we have taken care to require* and ordain, with every other stipulation, that our most holy religion should be absolutely the dominant religion, and, as it were, the peculiar religion of those two republics." Now, we are greatly deceived, or these words signify that, by virtue of the efforts and *requisitions* of the Court of Rome, the exercise of any worship not Catholic is prohibited in those States. The doctrine of intolerance in matters of religion is thus proclaimed by the Holy See just as it might have been four centuries back, at a time when there was yet no thought of the principle, now irrevocably triumphant, of free inquiry, whose fructification has scattered such vast progress in every direction.

This recent manifesto from the Court of Rome is of no good augury to those who would claim the assistance of the Holy See in favour of the establishment in Mexico of a *régime* in which modern principles would have a large space reserved for them.

So long as the policy of the Court of Rome

* The word deserves notice.

shall not be completely changed in Europe, it is greatly to be feared that it will continue to favour the party of immobility in Spanish America, and especially in Mexico. So long as that party has such an auxiliary, it may be put to the rout on the battle-field—it may be hurled from power as often as it succeeds in climbing thither—but it will never be definitely vanquished. Irritated by the ever-reviving obstacles it will encounter, the Liberal party will continue to exhibit violence and ultraism. Good order will be impossible in the country, and anarchy will be perpetually raising its head. The French attempt at regeneration will be condemned to remediless miscarriage.

So that we meet with the Roman question again at Mexico, as difficult there as it is here.

I say difficult, and not insoluble. Whatever may be my incompetence in questions that concern the faith, my feeling revolts against the notion that the faith prohibits the Court of Rome from changing its system and attitude, even in Italy. The lessons of experience are for all the world. To hope that it will profit by them for its own account is not too much to presume of the Holy See. When the blind provocations

of the Court of Rome obliged the General-in-chief of the Army of Italy to make the petty campaign of 1797, which terminated in the Treaty of Tolentino, did not the acts that marked the early years of the pontificate of Pius VII. seem as impossible as may now appear the adhesion of the Holy See to a Liberal policy? And would it not be to calumniate the Holy See to maintain that it will never rally to ideas the substance of which is in the Gospel itself, and out of the pale of which it has become clear to every man of sense there is nought for the pontifical authority but illusions, for the Church but perils?

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THE END.

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